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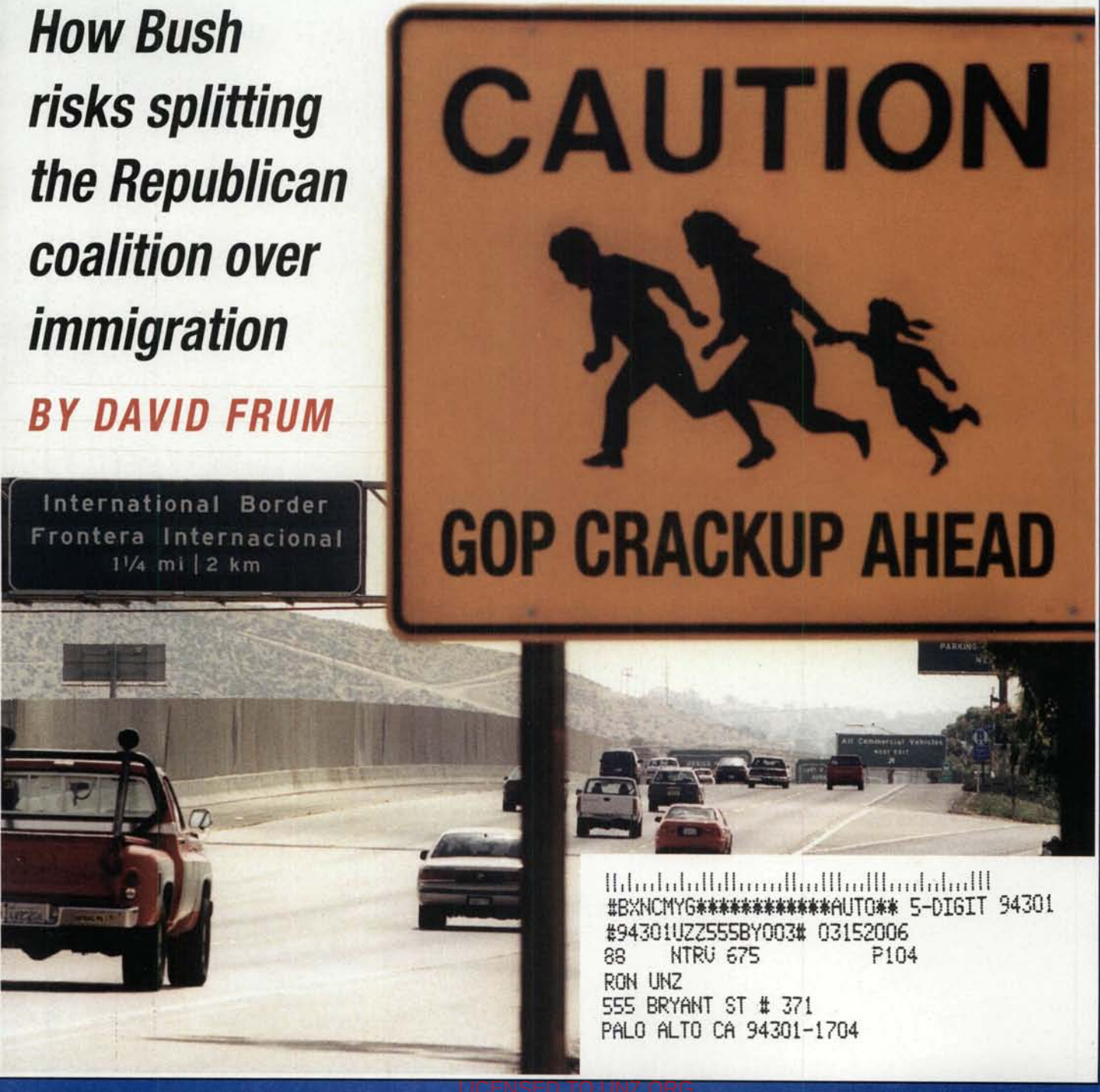
Jay Nordlinger on Che Chic (*Très* Disgusting)

NATIONAL REVIEW

How Bush risks splitting the Republican coalition over immigration

BY DAVID FRUM



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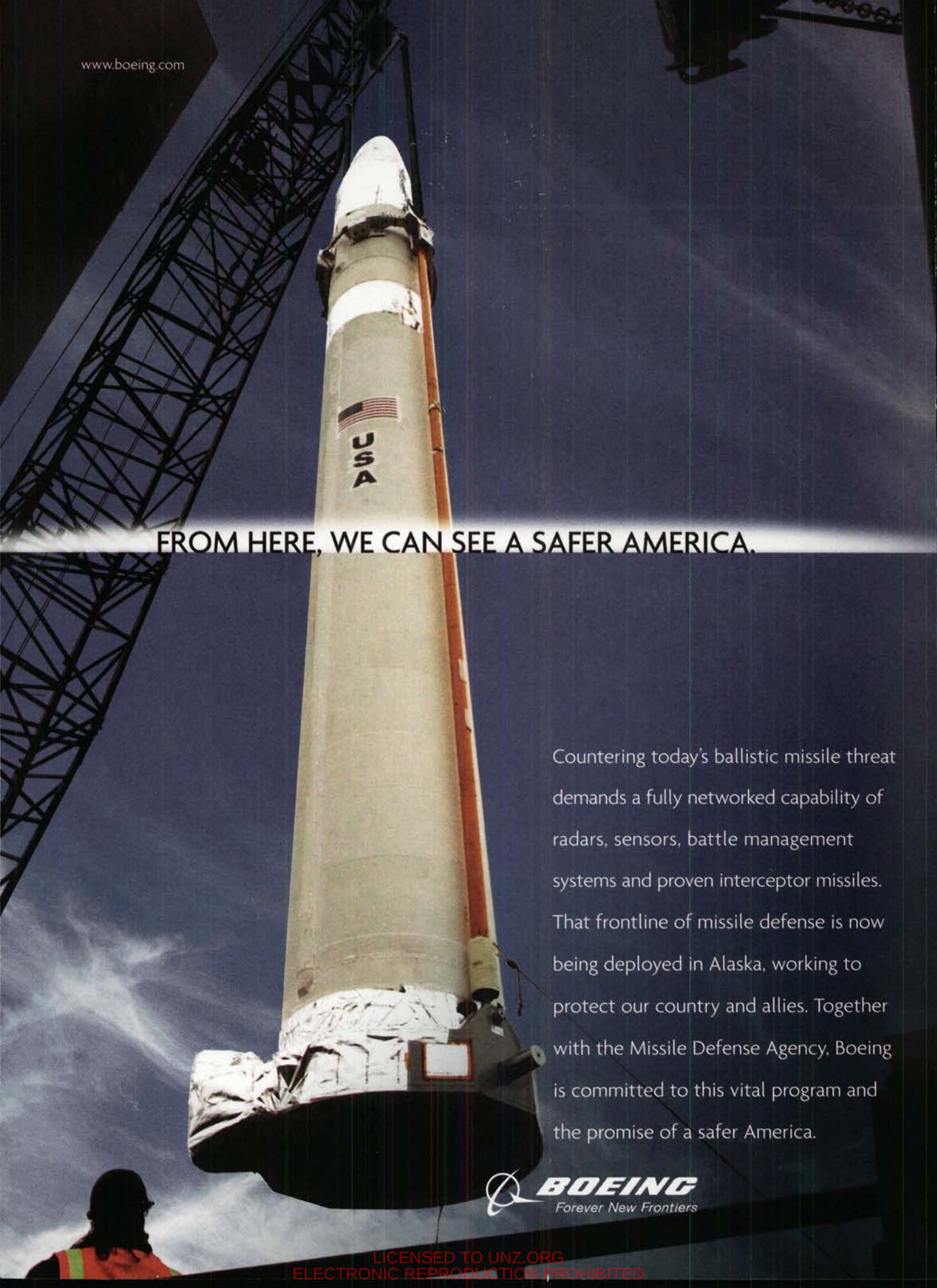

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DECEMBER 31, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 25

NATIONAL REVIEW

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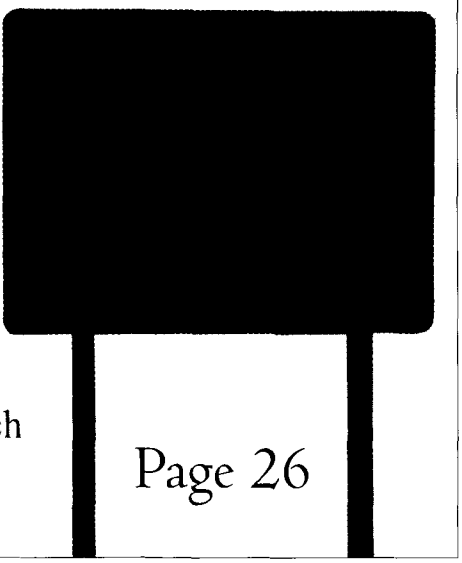
■ COVER ESSAY

GOP, You Are Warned

No issue, not one, threatens to do more damage to the Republican coalition than immigration. There's no issue where the beliefs and interests of the party rank-and-file diverge more radically from the beliefs and interests of the party's leaders. Immigration for Republicans in 2005 is what crime was for Democrats in 1965 or abortion in 1975: a vulnerable point at which a strong-minded opponent could drive a wedge that would shatter the GOP. *By David Frum*



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letters to the editor

AT THE MOVIES

Ross Douthat wants conservatives to engage in a little culture ("So, You Want To Win the Culture Wars?" Dec. 13). How about Mr. Douthat's engaging in a little balance? Though he calls himself a conservative, he apparently has more in common with the intellectually superior leftist elites in the blue states than he does with us culturally moronic red-staters.

Snobbishness and condescension ooze from every sentence of Mr. Douthat's essay, and his one-size-fits-all dismissal of the films screened at the American Film Renaissance festival ("the festival's movies were often awful in fascinating ways, but they were awful nonetheless") strikes me as typical liberal shallowness. How could he make such a blanket statement if he had seen the excellent documentary *Entertaining Vietnam*, a film that has won best-documentary awards in multiple film festivals around the U.S.? And it appears he did not take the time to see our documentary, *Silent Victory* (which has received positive reviews from audiences liberal and conservative), before painting us with the same negative brush.

Not only that, but apparently Mr. Douthat felt he had to make snide remarks about the physical characteristics of festival founders Jim and Ellen Hubbard ("bouffant hair," "heavyset man with a hangdog air"). Of what relevance could his opinion of what they look like be to the content of the films in the festival?

Annette R. Hall
Bellevue, Wash.

DAUGHTER DEFENDS MOM

I am a 17-year-old girl and have been reading NATIONAL REVIEW for several years. In your December 13 issue, Myrna Blyth reviews Mary Eberstadt's *Home-Alone America* ("The Hearth Defended"). Ms. Blyth at one point doubts the existence of a working mother who hasn't tried to bribe her children with a culinary treat. Here I simply must defend my mother, who has a 9-to-5 job that requires a two-hour daily commute, for she has never once tried to make amends for missing a "game/play/assembly" with ice cream, pizza, or anything of the sort. While I agree it is important that parents spend quality time with their children, there should be an emphasis on quality, of both the time and the parents. Problems don't necessarily spring from absence; one must also review today's parents. After all, many stay-at-home moms are just as willing to ship their kids off to a prescription-happy shrink as are working mothers.

Adrian O'Connell
Boston, Mass.

CELEBRATING 'DEC. 25'

A year ago, Jay Nordlinger wrote a piece called "December's C-Word" (Dec. 31, 2003), in which he discussed the tabooization of the word "Christmas." In the course of that piece, he mentioned what I had told him about my workplace, which lists all the holidays by name except Christmas. That, it calls "December 25th." Well, it's gotten really comical this year, when Christmas falls on a Saturday. The page of our internal website was changed to read, "December 25th (observed on December 24th in 2004)"!

Name and location withheld

Mr. Nordlinger complained of the difficulty of finding cards that say "Merry Christmas" (rather than "Happy Holidays," etc.). Well, my wife and I have been buying cards from the National Rifle Association for the past few years. Besides offering beautiful traditional designs, they say "Christmas" unabashedly. This year, we actually found a design that manages to get traditional Christmas decorations, an American flag, and "Merry Christmas" all in one card! Add that to the big "NRA" printed on the back, and it's a liberal's nightmare.

Colleen and Andrew Wharton
Arlington, Mass.

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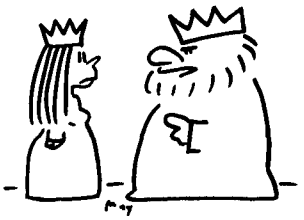

"Bill Clinton's coming, and I want you to stay in your room!"

■ President **Bush** earns 53 percent approval rating in Gallup poll, but 59 percent say Iraq is going "badly." . . . Bush, in *People*: "I feel very emboldened and refreshed by the size of the vote I received." . . . Bush on television programming: "They put the on/off button on TVs for a reason. We're in a free society and creative people come up with all kinds of ideas to try to lure listeners. I would hope there would be a time when studios take a step back and look at what they're producing and realize the consequences. But the consumers of America can control the content by not paying attention to it." . . . Bush: "I believe one way to help make sure the [Social Security] system meets the needs of a younger generation is to allow younger workers to take some of their own taxes and invest in a personal savings account—under certain conditions. The people in our country have heard this notion, so-called 'risky scheme' adjectives, in the 2000 campaign and the 2004 campaign. I took the message to them. They realize, like I realize, now is the time to deal with the problem." . . . In *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll, 46 percent say they are "not at all confident" Social Security will benefit them during retirement. . . . In Fox News poll, 60 percent say people should have choice to invest Social Security contributions and 55 percent say they would do it themselves. . . . Bush opens tax-deferred health savings account for himself. . . . Bush administration predicts economic growth will slow to 3.5 percent in 2005. . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.) turns down White House offers to become U.N. ambassador or homeland-security secretary, reports CNN.

■ Nationwide, Democratic state legislators outnumber Republicans by two seats, 3,658 to 3,656, but two races remain undecided, according to *USA Today*. . . . **Cameron Kerry** on brother **John** running for president again, on CNN: "It's not unthinkable." . . . Republican consultant **Rick Reed** responds to former Kerry campaign manager **Mary Beth Cahill**'s charge about Swift Boat ads: "The idea that Kerry's people miscalculated the impact of the ads is absurd. Senator Kerry's problem was that he never addressed one question or issue raised in the ads. This is because there was no good answer. Everything said about Kerry in the ads was accurate but the Kerry campaign put all its effort into trying to discredit the ads, which didn't work. Now the spin is that they didn't know the impact of these ads. Grade-school kids know the ads were hurting Kerry, so obviously Kerry's campaign knew." . . . Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.) on Republican senators, in *National Journal*: "They have pretty well ruined the institution so far. To me, it's not whether or not these guys are conservative or liberal, but whether or not they are institutional senators, whether or not they are going to deal with the institution as it is designed, or are they going to wreck it. And I think these guys are going to go about wrecking it. I don't think they give a damn."

■ Gov. **George Pataki** (R., N.Y.) indicates he probably won't run against Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.). . . . In Market Strategies poll of Ohio's GOP voters, secretary of state **Ken Blackwell** heads field of Republicans interested in gubernatorial nomination. . . . Pennsylvania Republicans buzz over possibility of former Pittsburgh Steelers wide receiver **Lynn Swann**'s challenging Gov. **Ed Rendell** (D.).

■ Former EPA chief **Christine Todd Whitman** (R.) in forthcoming book, according to AP: "A clear and present danger Republicans face today is that the party will now move so far to the right that it ends up alienating centrist voters and marginalizing itself. . . . It is time for Republican moderates to assert forcefully and plainly that this is our party, too, that we not only have a place but a voice, and not just a voice but a vision that is true to the historic principles of our party and our nation, not one tied to an extremist agenda." . . . Sen. **Chuck Hagel** (R., Neb.) blasts **Donald Rumsfeld** for his comments to troops: "Those men and women there deserved a far better answer from their secretary of defense than a flippant comment" . . . Sen. **Lindsey Graham** (R., S.C.) on whether he has confidence in Rumsfeld: "Yes. . . . The leadership that he's provided, I think, has been firm when we needed to be firm. War is a messy thing. The insurgents are ruthless people. We're trying to adapt."

■ Bush picks **Gerald Reynolds** to lead U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, with **Abigail Thernstrom** as vice chairman. . . . D.C. council member-elect **Marion Barry** (D.) crusades against plan to subsidize Washington baseball stadium with tax dollars. . . . ACLU board member **Wendy Kaminer** criticizes ACLU fundraising plans, in *New York Times*: "It goes against ACLU values to engage in data-mining on people without informing them. It's not illegal, but it is a violation of our values. It is hypocrisy." . . . Interceptor fails to launch in first missile-defense test in nearly two years. . . . NR accepting applications for a summer internship. Interested college students should send letter explaining their interest and résumé to intern@nationalreview.com. Application deadline: February 15.

■ Japan says its 550 soldiers in Iraq will remain there for at least another year. . . . Terrorists may target a Hilton hotel in Indonesia, according to Australian officials. . . . Canadian senate report blasts border and airport security. . . . With eye on Taiwan, China prepares to pass law against secession.

■ **Jay Leno**: "**Bernard Kerik** says he is sorry he'll not be able to be head of homeland security. He said with a wife and two mistresses he just doesn't have the time." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ M***y C*******s! You can't say that now, but it's so much better than H***y H******s.

■ Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad, but arrogant, careless, and horny will also do, as former New York police commissioner Bernard Kerik found when he was tapped to be secretary of homeland security. Kerik bowed out when it turned out he had an illegal-immigrant nanny—not a good thing for the man taxed with enforcing America's immigration laws. Then it turned out that he also had two mistresses and a lawyer who is a wiseguy defense attorney. What were Kerik's qualifications anyway? He was a placeholder police commissioner for the end of Rudy Giuliani's second term. He stood by the mayor on 9/11, but the leadership came from Giuliani. The Bush administration was wrong to have tapped Kerik as a favor to Giuliani, and Giuliani was wrong to have pushed him. Add it to the long list of Giuliani's defects: weirdness, temper, bullying, liberalism. America and the GOP will turn to him in 2008 only if they desperately need a leader.

■ What was Harry Reid thinking? The new leader of the Senate Democrats recently opined that Antonin Scalia might be worth supporting for chief justice "if he can overcome the ethics problems," but that Clarence Thomas "has been an embarrassment to the Supreme Court" because "his opinions are poorly written." None of the other justices provides the intellectual entertainment that Scalia does. But the reasoning in Thomas's opinions is not worse than any displayed by the other justices, Scalia included. Liberal academics increasingly regard Thomas as a worthy adversary, even if they wish he were not on the Court. Nor has Reid named any particular Thomas opinion that he considers badly written. That Thomas is a dumb version of Scalia is just one of those things that liberals know, even as they know that it is they who are sensitive to racial slights.

■ Are the Democrats rethinking their down-the-line support for abortion? Reid has voted pro-life on legislation most of the time. The House Democratic leader, Nancy Pelosi, encouraged a pro-lifer, former Indiana congressman Tim Roemer, to run for chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Frances Kissling, the head of a pro-abortion group, says that her colleagues need to soften their rhetoric and perhaps embrace the law that recognizes two victims in assaults on pregnant women. The Democrats haven't quite worked out their lines yet. Simon Rosenberg, head of the New Democratic Network and another prospective chairman of the DNC, says, "All Democrats are united around the idea that we should make abortion safe, legal, and rare," right before saying that "we also have to be open to people who are pro-life." It is hard to be "open" to pro-life Democrats while insisting that "all Democrats" favor legal abortion. We hope that Democrats will continue to reexamine their political strategy on abortion, and perhaps even their consciences.

■ The president's latest surprise was to stick with Treasury secretary John Snow, for whom the long knives had appeared to be out. We are glad that a man with generally sound views and priorities on economic policy will be at Treasury. But the administration will still lack a free-market advocate with shrewd political judgment, respect from Wall Street, and the ability to persuade lawmakers. May we suggest that Bush remedy this deficiency by making Lawrence Kudlow the chairman of his National Economic Council? Longtime readers, and viewers of *Kudlow & Cramer* on CNBC, will agree: It's hard to see how Bush could do better.

■ Tort reformers won big in the election. One of their fellows was reelected president of the United States, and a trial lawyer opposed to reform was denied the vice presidency. Reformers made progress in elections for state attorneys general and state courts. Reformist ballot initiatives passed in several states, including California, and failed only narrowly in two. President Bush, at his recent economic summit, asked for "meaningful liability reform on asbestos, on class action, and [on] medical liability." But which to do first? Michael Greve of the American Enterprise Institute argues persuasively that class-action reform should come first. States can fix their medical-malpractice rules themselves. The asbestos legislation last considered by Congress does not keep fraudulent claimants from getting cash awards, and it splits business lobbies. Class-action reform, on the other hand, demands federal action. The reform is designed to keep state governments from subverting the federalist structure of our government by letting their courts rob out-of-state plaintiffs. It nearly got the 60 Senate votes necessary to avert a filibuster last year, four Republican senators ago. Greve is right: Put it first in the queue.

■ In Buenos Aires this month, the proponents of the Kyoto Protocol danced their last tango. The treaty, designed to slow the emission of greenhouse gases, effectively died during a U.N. conference there. The treaty will not be ratified by enough countries to take effect, and will expire in 2012. The *New York Times* and green groups predictably painted the United States as a villain for obstructionism. But it was the Europeans, the principal agitators for Kyoto, who were out of step. At the beginning of the conference, China, India, and the rest of the developing world stood with the U.S. and Australia

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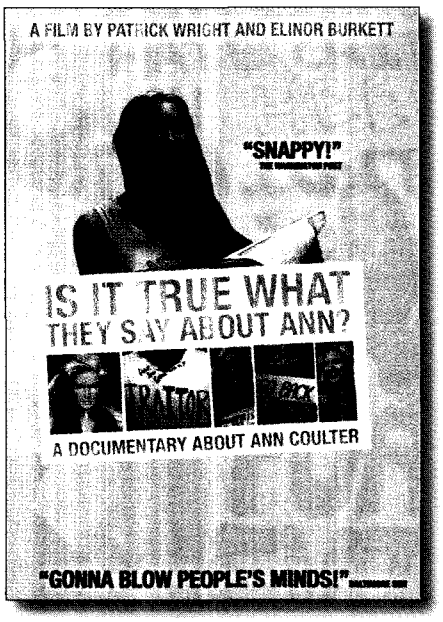

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THE WEEK...

against limits on energy use. The developing world knows rising energy use is required for its ascent from poverty. Then Italy shocked the participants by announcing its intention to withdraw from Kyoto after 2012. The Italian environment ministers have concluded rightly that Kyoto simply can't work to achieve its stated goals. The remainder of the meeting took a more constructive turn, as participants focused on building "adaptive capacity"—wealth, infrastructure, technology—to handle any future climate change. To his list of accomplishments as *Time*'s Man of the Year, add George W. Bush's assertion at the beginning of his presidency that the Kyoto Protocol was "fatally flawed." It took three years to sink in, but much of the rest of the world has now come around to his view.

■ Who will guard the guardians? In an effort to aid its fund-raising, the ACLU has hired a data firm to collect and collate publicly available information on its members. "It goes against ACLU values to engage in data-mining on people without informing them," said board member Wendy Kaminer. "It's not illegal, but it is a violation of our values. It is hypocrisy." And if the ACLU is not pure of heart, how can it defend terror suspects and Pledge-haters? Next thing you know, they'll be grilling librarians, and covering the breasts of statues.

■ How fares our project in Iraq? To paraphrase Chou En-lai, it is simply too soon to tell—although the January elections will be a crucial indicator of Iraq's future. The Bush administration has rightly been adamant that they go forward on schedule, lest they never take place at all. In Afghanistan, the elections were a strong civic statement in favor of forging a better country, and served to isolate further the country's radical elements. The same could happen in Iraq. Unless the violence spins totally out of control (and in 14 of Iraq's 18 provinces there are fewer than four violent incidents a day), nearly every Shia in the country is bound to vote and the Kurds are supportive of the process. The United Iraq Alliance, the slate forged by Shia leader Ayatollah Sistani, includes the major Shia factions and representatives of other ethnic groups—its formation is in and of itself a significant act of political pluralism. Some Sunni clerics have called for an election boycott, but the Sunnis are not a monolith and meaningful participation by them is not out of the question. If Iraq is truly to "turn the corner," it will begin doing so on January 30.

■ Yasser Arafat goes down in history as the man who threw the Palestinians into an armed struggle with Israel they could not win. The question now is, how to turn his timely death into a stable situation, maybe even peace. Ariel Sharon and other Israeli politicians are hoping that Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen, is the man to meet this challenge. Aged 69, and a veteran of Palestinian infighting, he looks set to win the coming election for chairman of the Palestinian Authority for the simple reason that nobody so far is running against him. But this potential one-man ruler is on record as saying that the armed struggle has been a deadly mistake. Palestinians instead ought to confront Israel "by popular and social means"—in other words, less jihad and more Gandhi. In contrast, he has been embracing Bashar Assad and other terror-masters in Damascus, and on a fund-raising tour of the Gulf he criticized Sharon for making the "disastrous" statement that Palestinian refugees can expect to be resettled in Palestinian lands but not Israel. Peace depends on his wriggling somehow through these contradictions.

■ The horrifying saga of Leila M., a 19-year-old Iranian girl with a reported mental age of eight, is tragically representative of life in the Islamic Republic. Sold into prostitution by her mother at age eight, Leila was forced by threats and violence to continue "visiting men" for years. She became pregnant at nine and had twins when she was 14, at which point the Iranian courts sentenced her to 100 lashes for giving birth to illegitimate children. Now Leila stands accused of "acts incompatible with chastity," and faces almost certain death. Teenagers, particularly young women, are brutalized with alarming regularity under Iran's legal system: In addition to Leila, at least two other girls now face death-by-stoning for illicit sexual behavior. (In such instances, the "criminal" is buried up to her chest and medium-sized rocks are thrown at her head, causing a slow and agonizing death.) It is hardly surprising that Iran's young people so desire the Islamic regime's demise.

■ The Arab TV station al-Jazeera recently ran a cartoon on its website showing an Iranian mullah passing indifferently by various trouble spots in the Middle East, but then bridling with fury when he sees a map with the name "Persian Gulf" changed to "Arab Gulf." (This has been a source of some friction in the region.) The mullahs—never best known for a rollicking sense of humor—took umbrage, and a stinging editorial by one Hassan Hanizadeh appeared in the *Tehran Times*. Mr. Hanizadeh was not at a loss to explain why the Muslims of al-Jazeera would insult their fellows in such a way. It was, he instructed his readers, the fault of the Jews. By diligent research, you see, Mr. Hanizadeh has uncovered the fact that al-Jazeera started up just at the time the mullahs were

YUSHCHENKO, POISONED

It's all so Borgia! Was it Vlad
Or someone closer to the bod?
Dioxin: Was it eyedropped in
The chicken soup, or did some kin
(In Italy, kin were the worst)
Perform the deed, cackled, then cursed?
Whatever, Putin's rep's so worn,
He shakes like shocked merino, shorn.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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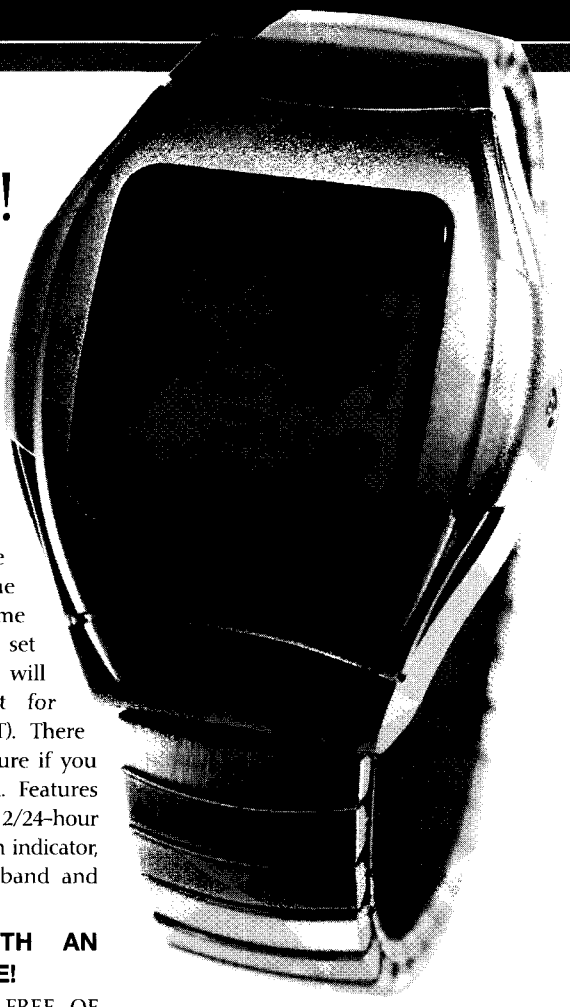

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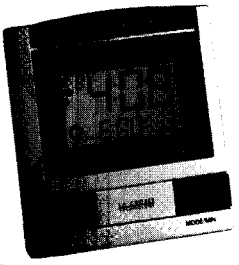

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THE WEEK...

trying to open a dialogue with the West. That such a dialogue might come to pass was intolerable to the "Zionists": "And that is why they founded the al-Jazeera network to tarnish the image of true Islam." In these circles, there is no need for coherent thought. You just have to keep repeating: the Jews, the Jews, the Jews . . .

■ James Cason may be the most remarkable member of the U.S. Foreign Service. He is "our man in Havana"—head of our mission there—and he has a wonderful gift for getting under the skin of the Communist regime. He opens his doors—our doors—to dissidents. For the backyard, he ordered the construction of a mock isolation cell, in which many of Cuba's heroes are kept. And now he has put up Christmas lights, the only Christmas lights in town. They have attracted great attention in Havana. In addition to Santa, the reindeer, and "Merry Christmas," Cason has illuminated the number "75," meant to remind the country of the 75 dissidents locked up by Castro in the March 2003 crackdown. The dictator has retaliated by placing a billboard across from the mission showing photos from Abu Ghraib and the swastika. Typical stuff, such as you can see any day in Ann Arbor, Berkeley, and Madison. Cason is getting to them. Keep going, Jim.

■ The *New York Times* had an article citing the vast expansion of Brazilian agriculture. The government, you see, has a) lifted import restrictions that had kept farmers from

Clearing the Air

You may have seen the recent news reports announcing that, according to the Environmental Protection Agency, air pollution in major cities had fallen to the lowest levels ever recorded. Cities like Houston, Los Angeles, and Pittsburgh all achieved the lowest number of days with unsafe smog levels in decades. What do you know: Capitalism and a clean environment really can coexist.

This encouraging news flies in the face of what green groups have been saying about the Bush environmental record. Indeed, the greens have some explaining to do, given that just a few months before these statistics were released, they were running around panicking voters about President Bush's supposedly horrid record on the environment. He received an F grade on some environmental report cards; no retraction has yet been issued.

The public is often duped by the greens and their perpetual migraine about the environment. Indeed, there is almost certainly no issue of modern times on which Americans' general beliefs are more contrary to objective reality. Most Americans believe that because of industrialization, population growth, and mass consumption, the air and water are deteriorating and our natural resources are being depleted. A CNN/*USA Today* poll asked what would be some of the greatest problems mankind will confront over the next 50 years. More than four out of five said they feared "severe water pollution" and "severe air pollution."

Required reading for all Americans who want to be educated on the true state of the planet should be Steve Hayward's annual *Index of Leading Environmental Indicators* (American Enterprise Institute). Environmentalists hate this booklet because it is, generally, chock-full of good news. Remember the arsenic-in-the-drinking-water scare a few years back? Environmental groups hyperventilated that Bush was allowing industry slowly to poison us. But it was all a big lie: Hayward shows that the water we drink today is substantially more healthful than that of 50 years ago. U.S. lakes and streams that were once threatened by pollution have been dramatically cleaned up over the past 30 years, and are now usable for fishing and recreation. And consider this fact about the "good ol' days": About one of every five deaths prior to 1900 was attributable to contaminants in the drinking water.

On air pollution, the data indicate a long-term trend of improvement. For example, the accompanying table shows that, since 1976, sulfur dioxide has decreased by more than 65 percent, carbon monoxide by almost 70 percent, and lead by more than 90 percent.

CLEANER AND CLEANER: AIR QUALITY INDICATORS

AMBIENT AIR POLLUTION LEVELS IN THE U.S.

Ozone	-31%
Sulfur Dioxides	-70%
Nitrogen Dioxide	-41%
Carbon Monoxide	-75%
Particulates (PM10)*	-28%
Lead	-98%

*1988-2002. SOURCE: EPA AND INDEX OF LEADING ENVIRONMENTAL INDICATORS, AEI, 2004.

Another huge success story is the decline in pollution per unit of output. Over the past 50 years, air-pollution emissions fell by 3 percent annually relative to output—suggesting that America has become far more environmentally efficient. In fact, we now produce about six times more output per ton of emission of air pollution than we did before 1940.

Free-market capitalism is not the enemy of the environment, but its savior. Freer and wealthier societies can afford to devote more resources to combating pollution—and they do. Conversely, the greatest environmental catastrophes of the 20th century were caused by socialist nations. The Communists in the Soviet Union in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s were perhaps the greatest environmental villains in history. Prudent government regulation, such as basic public-health measures, clean-water laws, and air-pollution-abatement laws, are certainly necessary to protect the environment. But more important is a free-market economy—one that protects property rights, produces wealth, and encourages innovation.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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THE WEEK...

importing modern agricultural machinery, and b) allowed the country's currency to float, thereby achieving a realistic rate that has encouraged exports. The *Times*'s subheading? "Government's Helping Hand"! Yup, it helps when you get out of the way.

■ Bobbie Jo Stinnett, a pregnant 23-year-old Missouri woman, was strangled by Lisa Montgomery, a casual acquaintance, who cut the child from her womb and passed it off as her own. The child, a girl, survived; Montgomery, it is to be hoped, will not. But look at how the story has been reported. "A baby girl cut out of the abdomen of a pregnant woman . . . was found alive in Kansas yesterday afternoon. . . . 'The child appears to be healthy and in good shape,' Sheriff Ben F. Espy of Nodaway County, Mo., told reporters" (Stephen Kinzer, *New York Times*). Note: *girl*, *child*. Other stories use *fetus*, but also *baby*. Why not *fetus* only? Under the regime of *Roe*, an unborn child acquires humanity only when it is wanted—even if the woman who wants her is a murderous kidnapper. Isn't there a better standard? Can't we make more humane judgments (even if we don't have wiser judges)?

■ Should the law let parents eavesdrop on their teenage children's phone conversations? Of course it should. If, in listening, a parent hears evidence of a crime, is that eavesdropped evidence admissible in court testimony? No, says the supreme court of Washington State (hereinafter "SCOWS"), reversing the robbery conviction of a 17-year-old purse snatcher. Key testimony had come from a witness who had listened in on her daughter's phone conversation with the purse snatcher. Apparently our family phone extensions are to be governed by the same rule of confidentiality that applies to attorneys' offices and psychiatrists' couches. The point of that rule, however, is to permit attorneys and psychiatrists to do their jobs, which without the rule would be impossible. What useful aspect of family life was impossible before SCOWS handed down this silly decision?

■ The January/February issue of *Foreign Affairs* will carry a review essay by Mahmood Mamdani, a professor at Columbia, detailing "key parallels between neoconservatives and jihadists." The two groups share "global ambitions," "a deep faith in the efficacy of politically motivated violence," and "cadres . . . tainted by early stints in the Trotskyist or the Maoist left." This is old-hat conspiracy-mongering: It could be a Maureen Dowd column, if she were funny. What makes it piquant is its appearance in *Foreign Affairs*. For eons, the Council on Foreign Relations, which publishes *Foreign Affairs*, was thought to be the master spinner of a web of sinister influences, liberal/defeatist or New York/financial. "Linked" was the classic verb in anti-CFR exorcisms, though "tainted" is an excellent modern substitute. Is *Foreign Affairs* now publishing such stuff out of relief that it is no longer the target?

■ "It's time to be honest about the unbearable suffering endured by newborns with no hope of a future," said Dr. Eduard Verhagen, a pediatrician at Groningen Academic Hospital in the Netherlands. The alternative future the doctor and the hospital envision is to permit the euthanasia of those who cannot request it—children, the retarded, the comatose—when those who can perform it determine that they are in intolerable pain. The Netherlands was the first country in the world to permit euthanasia for adults who do request it, so it's time to be honest about what euthanasia is—killing—and where it leads—killing by decree. The killing of adults who have not requested it is surely only a few years off. Who will snuff the last Dutchman—a doctor, or a jihadist?

■ "Street Fighter," "Def Jam Vendetta," "BloodRayne," and "Grand Theft Auto" are the names of video games featuring extreme violence. They were among the titles removed from the Jefferson City (Mo.) Correctional Center when a local reporter queried the wisdom of allowing inmates to amuse themselves by playing these games while serving sentences for things like, well, grand theft auto. If it's any consolation, the games were not purchased with state funds, but from revenues raised within the prison by commissary sales. All together now: "When a felon's not engaged in his employment / Or maturing his felonious little plans, / His capacity for innocent enjoyment / Is just as great as any honest man's . . ."

SOCIAL SECURITY

Against the Doubters

EVERY indication is that President Bush is going to make Social Security reform his first item of business when Congress comes back to work in 2005. He has not presented a detailed plan, but the merest outline is already drawing misguided criticism.

The program, in its current state, is unaffordable. By 2018, the program will start sending out more money than it brings in. The government will have to find a way to make up the difference—and that difference is projected to accumulate, over time, into the tens of trillions of dollars.

Under current law, benefits are tied to the general wage level. Since wages are expected to go up in the future, benefits are, too. So we can't grow our way out of this problem: If growth goes up, so do wages and therefore benefits. The benefits formula has to be changed. Tying it to prices instead of wages makes sense. The value of a Social Security check would keep up with inflation and an individual's contributions to the program. But the value would not go higher still.

That solution, however, creates a new problem. Social Security is a bad deal for young workers, who can expect to get back less than they are putting in. Cutting future benefits makes the deal worse. So the president also wants to let people invest some of their contributions to the program for themselves. The government will thus both cut back on unaffordable promises to workers and let them build up more wealth for themselves.

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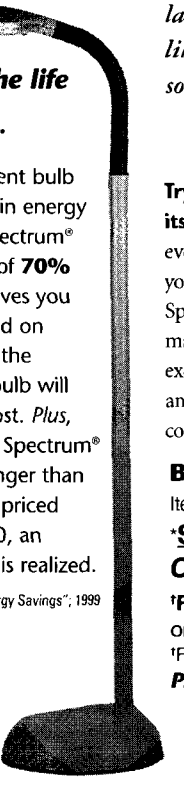

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THE WEEK...

Opponents of this reform package have advanced a number of unpersuasive objections. First is the claim that there is no Social Security problem in the first place. The program has a "trust fund" that will remain solvent until 2040. But the "trust fund" contains only IOUs from the government. Redeeming them will require tax hikes or benefit cuts. So money still has to be found, starting as soon as we start trying to redeem those IOUs—which is in 15 years, not 35. The main alternative solution, a hefty tax increase, would make Social Security a worse deal for the young while impoverishing everyone.

The second main objection is that creating the personal accounts would involve increasing the federal debt burden. But increasing debt now in order to reduce our costs over the long run makes sense. The capital markets already reflect an understanding that the government has large unfunded obligations to meet in the future. If presented with a credible plan to cut future costs while also increasing short-term debt, the markets may not drive interest rates much higher.

Such opponents as Paul Krugman claim that Wall Street will eat up much of the personal accounts through administrative fees. But the Thrift Savings Program for federal workers has offered a fair amount of investment choice without charging large administrative fees.

The federal government has, in a sense, been masking its deficits by borrowing from Social Security for years and years. Personal accounts would end that practice.

Michael Kinsley has made an ingenious argument against reform. He notes that personal accounts, if financed by debt, do not increase the total amount of capital in the economy and thus do not increase national wealth. To the extent his argument is sound, it implies that we should try to finance the accounts by eliminating unproductive government spending. But he is ignoring some of the indirect effects of reform, even if it is financed by debt. Personal accounts may increase incentives to work: The more people work, the more they will see their accounts grow. More realistic promises of future benefits may induce people to save more (as may the experience of watching their personal-account returns compound).

Creating private accounts involves moving from implicit to explicit debt. Instead of unfunded promises of future benefits, there would be borrowing today to set up the accounts. The debt would move from being off the books to being on them. Explicit borrowing would probably restrain federal spending. To put it another way: The federal government has, in a sense, been masking its deficits by borrowing from Social Security for years and years. Personal accounts would end that practice and impose a tougher constraint on budget-writers.

Personal accounts would also, over time, increase both the public's financial sophistication and its receptivity to proposals to increase the returns to capital. It might make them a bit more skeptical of government spending, and a bit more likely to support difficult reforms reining in Medicare and the like. Providing the security of ownership, and reducing dependence on Washington, is a worthy goal in its own right. After listening to the doubters, we still think the president's concept is a good one. It is certainly better than the alternatives.

AT WAR

Sticking with Rumsfeld

DON RUMSFELD has been the object of a textbook Washington media feeding frenzy. It was prompted by a question during an open forum with the troops about a lack of appropriate armor for vehicles in Iraq.

The get-Rumsfeld crowd—mostly Democrats, joined by Republican non-stalwarts like Sens. John McCain and Chuck Hagel and a few stray hawks—takes great umbrage at the secretary's answer, which has been portrayed as dismissive and even compared to General Patton's infamous slap of a shell-shocked soldier in World War II. But the troops gave Rumsfeld a standing ovation at the end of the forum. Is it the position of the secretary's critics that the troops were too stupid to realize that they had just been belittled?

The comment that has most angered Rumsfeld's detractors is his statement that "you go to war with the army you have." That may have been too frank, but it is true. We went into Iraq with a military not yet fully transformed to adjust to 21st-century reality, which turned out to include an insurgency launched in a harsh urban environment.

No opponent of the Iraq War ever said beforehand, "Don't you dare invade Iraq unless you have 8,000 up-armored Humvees available." Instead, they warned that U.S. troops would be attacked with chemical weapons or that the Arab world would explode in anger at the United States—neither of which occurred. It turned out that roadside bombs were the main threat. They made the thin-skinned Humvees—never designed for combat—inadequate for protecting our troops.

Once it became clear exactly what we were facing in Iraq, the Pentagon adjusted. Such adjustments are an inevitable part of any complex and difficult military enterprise. Commanders in Iraq now want 8,100 up-armored Humvees, the version of the vehicle specially manufactured with heavier armor. The military has produced 6,000 so far, and is churning out more than 400 more a month—up from the initial production clip of 15 a month. An additional 10,000 Humvees have been fitted with add-on kits. So, of the 19,000 or so Humvees in theater, 15,000 have some form of added protection. Of 30,000 total wheeled vehicles in Iraq and Afghanistan, roughly 22,000 have some sort of armor.

Behind much of the criticism of Rumsfeld is the idea that he has disastrously skimped on troop levels, especially when it comes to the occupation. But insurgencies aren't crushed by sheer numbers. Would that it were that easy. Counter-insurgency depends on intelligence and a sound political strat-

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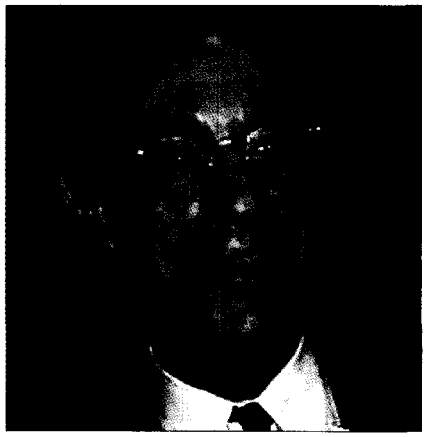
egy, which in this case involves integrating Iraqi forces into the fight and moving ahead with the elections. Given that more troops would require an even larger logistical tail (i.e., more targets) to support them, it makes sense that commanders on the ground aren't asking for significantly more troops.

The agenda of most of Rumsfeld's critics is clear: to wound the administration and discredit the war effort by taking the scalp of one of its architects. Some of those coming at Rumsfeld from the right have a more subtle concern. They can't bear to admit that Iraq has been more difficult than they ever imagined, so they have to blame someone's bumbling for the difficulties we have encountered. Alas, anyone else could have been secretary of defense the last three years and Iraq likely would have been every bit the heartbreakingly trying venture it has proved to be. Gotcha games might divert attention from that fact, but they can never change it. Let's get on with the prevailing.

OBITUARY

David Brudnoy, R.I.P.

It was as if all of Boston was holding its breath on December 9, yet everyone knew—meaning, every human being in Boston—that the countdown wasn't now a matter of days, but of hours. He was in the Massachusetts General Hospital for a final bout with cancer. In 1994 he had survived an AIDS infirmity. When he left the hospital, he elected to emerge from the closet. He set down his life story in an autobiography (*Life Is Not a Rehearsal*). And went back to radio station WBZ, from which for over 25 years he broadcast for three hours every day, acting as host to every politician and minstrel and writer in and out of town. And he resumed teaching, reviewing movies (he reviewed them all), and writing, and giving lectures on television.



Reviewing his biography in these pages ten years ago, I wrote: "What is distinctive about the author is that he is universally cherished, not excepting by this reviewer." This is not easy for a talkathoner to achieve. Brudnoy stood by opinions by no means agreeable to the majority of his guests, to say nothing of the guardians of correct thought in Boston. Brudnoy was a libertarian/conservative who expressed himself on political, cultural, and philosophical issues, listening patiently and politely and inquisitively to the views of his guests.

After a stint in Japan—and at Yale, where he studied Japanese—he went to Texas Southern University, a historically African-American school, to teach history. While there, he was dislodged from collectivist liberalism by Ayn Rand. He moved then to Boston, earning advanced degrees from Harvard and Brandeis, and beginning his career as a talk-show host. I never heard that he was rude to any of his guests, never mind that he had strong personal views ("Cathy Young, in today's *Globe* op-ed," he wrote me in July, "has a nice piece poking holes into the repulsive Michael Moore"). He was an acknowledged highbrow (promoted to full professor at Boston University) totally relaxed when talking with firefighters, with whom he would make friends as convincingly as he did with fellow intellectuals. He was a very lively friend, and when he died, what seemed like everyone who had ever touched base with him, sang in the chorus of grief.

We all wondered at his capacity to maintain friendships with such prodigal attention to them. A few months ago he was reading my own autobiography, in anticipation of a broadcast, and he noticed that in the war, I had done basic infantry training in Camp Wheeler, Ga., and that I had ended my (inglorious) military career at Ft. Sam Houston, in San Antonio.

Whaddayouknow! Arrives a 700-word letter on the coincidence that his father, an army dentist, had contemporaneously served in Camp Wheeler and at Ft. Sam Houston. On his father's second tour of duty in San Antonio years later, "I sat around the motel swimming pool, or we went to the Alamo, or this and that, and I had the pleasure of Becoming A Man—for some ridiculous reason I wanted to be first among my friends, and called a cab company while my folks were at an officers' club party, and told the driver that I wanted to be taken to a house of ill repute. Deed done, I felt very adult. But then, when we came back to Minneapolis for school in the Fall, I felt idiotic and never told my friends ever, till I wrote about it in my little memoir a few years ago."

"Just a coincidence," he wrote, "but I like it that you were there in Macon and San Antonio and I was there as an infant and teenager. Since I have known you for 36 years I've probably read more by you than by any other person (even the endlessly prodigious Robert B. Parker). And of course you are an honorary Phi Alpha Tau brother." The reference was to a professional fraternity at Emerson College into which I was inducted the last time I was in Boston to appear on his program.

His deteriorating health generated a convenient arrangement with WBZ. He would broadcast not from the studio, but from his own apartment, which could have been mistaken for a book store/kiosk. "I like to make my guests as comfortable as possible," he told the *Boston Globe*, "so I let them smoke and I make them mixed drinks." He went on as ever, happily at work, and when he was back in the hospital and it was nearing midnight, he did a final broadcast. The *Globe*'s Mark Feeney quoted John Silber, formidable president emeritus of Boston University, where Brudnoy had taught over the years: "A most courageous and gentle man is dead. The loss is ours, we survivors who loved him, respected him, and engaged in conversation for so many years." NATIONAL REVIEW is proud that, for so many years, he resided on our masthead as a Contributor.

—WFB

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

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notes & asides

For the Record
From *Esquire* Magazine

An Open Letter to Our Readers Concerning William F. Buckley Jr.

In 2003, *Esquire* published a collection of essays that had appeared in the magazine. One of these was an article by Gore Vidal repeating libels against Mr. Buckley that had appeared in the original article in 1969.

The publication of that original article resulted in a lawsuit. *Esquire* settled by apologizing to Mr. Buckley, affirming the high respect in which he was held by the editors and compensating him for legal costs.

Present management was not aware of the history of this litigation, and greatly regrets the re-publication of the libels in the current collection. That book will no longer be distributed by the publisher unless the Vidal article is removed from the book.

The original Vidal article followed the publication by Mr. Buckley of an essay on Vidal, about which Vidal complained in a lawsuit that was thrown out of court. *Esquire* will be happy to send a copy of Mr. Buckley's article to anyone requesting it. (Please write to Peter Martin, *Esquire* Magazine, 1790 Broadway, 13th floor, New York, N.Y. 10019.) A reading of it will give the curious a perspective on the controversy. The article by Mr. Buckley can also be found at Esquire.com until March 15, 2005.

Settlement Agreement and Release

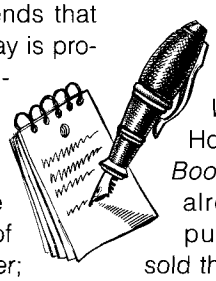
This Settlement Agreement and Release ("Settlement Agreement") is entered into by and between William F. Buckley Jr. ("Mr. Buckley") on the one hand, and Hearst Communications, Inc. ("Hearst") on the other hand.

Recitals

WHEREAS, an essay entitled "A Distasteful Encounter with William F. Buckley Jr." by Gore Vidal (the "Vidal Essay") was published pursuant to a license from Hearst in a book entitled *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing*; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Buckley claims that the Vidal Essay has defamed him and caused him damage, which claims are denied by Hearst; and

WHEREAS, Hearst contends that publication of the Vidal Essay is protected by the First Amendment; and



WHEREAS, Mr. Buckley is concerned about the impact of the publication of the Vidal Essay on his career; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Buckley and Hearst desire to compromise finally all claims between them completely, without any admission of liability on the part of any party and to avoid the expense and inconvenience of litigation;

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the mutual promises and covenants set forth herein, the parties agree as follows:

1. Payments by Hearst. Within 15 days of the execution of this Settlement Agreement by Mr. Buckley, Hearst will pay the sum of $55,000 to Mr. Buckley's counsel, Windels Marx Lane & Mittendorf, and will pay the sum of $10,000 to Mr. Buckley.

2. Publication by Hearst of Open Letter. Hearst will publish in the February 2005 issue of *Esquire* magazine An Open Letter to [Our Readers Concerning] William F. Buckley Jr. as set forth in Exhibit A hereto.

3. Hearst to Provide Buckley Essay. Hearst will provide a copy of the essay by Mr. Buckley entitled "On Experiencing Gore Vidal" (the "Buckley Essay") to anyone who requests it and will also post that essay on the Esquire.com website for two months beginning January 15, 2005. Mr. Buckley hereby grants Hearst the right to reproduce and publish the Buckley Essay as specified in this paragraph.

4. No Further Publication of Book. Hearst will require that copies of *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing* with the Vidal Essay will no longer be distributed by the publisher, and that the publisher will destroy all copies in inventory of *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing* with the Vidal Essay. However, copies of *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing* that have already been shipped by the publisher may continue to be sold through customary channels of book sales and distribution, and the publisher has the right to reprint *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing* without the Vidal Essay.

5. Release by Mr. Buckley. Mr. Buckley, on behalf of himself, his successors and assigns, ("Releasor") hereby releases, acquits and forever discharges . . . Hearst Communications, Inc. and Sterling Publishing Co., Inc. . . . from any and all claims, demands, actions, causes of action, suits, damages, and proceedings of every kind, whether known or unknown, which against any or all of them the Releasor ever had, now has or hereinafter may have arising from the publication of the Vidal Essay in the book entitled *Esquire's Big Book of Great Writing*. . . .

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, Mr. Buckley and Hearst have executed this Settlement Agreement as their free act and deed.

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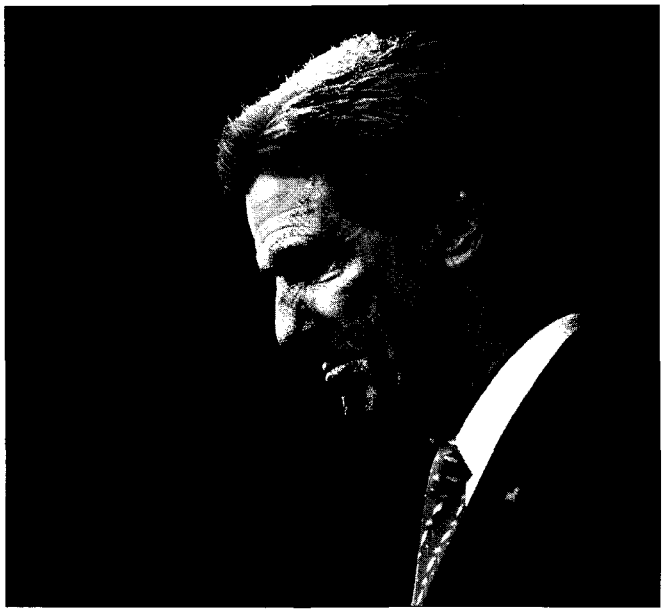

■ POLITICS ■

While They're Waiting . . .

Thoughts for the Democrats after their recent losses

RAMESH PONNURU

Ever since the election, Democrats have been consoling themselves with the thought that they lost by only 2.5 points nationally, and by only 119,000 votes in Ohio. Forty-eight percent of voters picked John Kerry. It would take only a little bit more support, they tell themselves, to regain power. And this is true. But there's another way of looking at the same facts: It means that the Democrats still have a long way to fall.

It is understandable that Democrats would concentrate on which bits of red territory they could raid: on how they could win over voters in Colorado or Nevada, in the exurbs or the churches. But it's not as though Republicans are going to stand in place while the Democrats maneuver. Republicans could gain votes in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, among Catholics and Hispanics. And maybe the most hopeful sign for the Republicans since the election has been the parade of dubious Democratic theories about how to make a comeback.

Leading this parade is the view that the Democrats simply nominated a weak, uncharismatic candidate this time around, and will succeed if they choose better next time. No reasonable observer would deny that there is an element of truth to this explanation. But what were the alternatives? Howard Dean would hardly have improved the Democrats' standing on national-security or cultural issues. Dick Gephardt looked like a strong candidate on paper, but was unable to ride the labor unions to victory even in the caucuses of his nextdoor neighbor Iowa. Joe Lieberman, if nominated, would have generated a 10 percent vote for Ralph Nader. A realistic Democrat has to look behind Kerry to ask why his party was unable to come up with strong candidates for 2004.

Another theory, popular just after the election, held that the Democrats had to reach out to "voters of faith." This way of putting things is probably self-defeating: For many Christians—and nobody is under the impression that Democrats have a pressing need to reach out to Jews, Muslims, or Hindus—the phrase "people of faith" is a tip-off that the speaker is approaching them as an anthropologist rather than as a fellow citizen.

But terminology is the least of it. The base of the Democratic party does not allow its politicians much room to appeal to religious and social conservatives. Kerry tried just about everything that could be done rhetorically to do so. He downplayed his views on abortion—neither Edwards nor he mentioned it at the Democratic convention, a departure from the practice of the previous three elections. Kerry came out against same-sex marriage, even endorsing state initiatives to block it. Nor did he eschew the use of Biblical allusions in his speeches. (He suggested that Bush was a Pharisee.) If rhetoric alone were going to change the impression that traditionally minded Christians have of the Democrats, it would have happened.

Taking different positions, on the other hand, might change that impression. Democrats could nominate for president someone like Evan Bayh, who opposes partial-birth abortion. But feminists (and the Supreme Court) regard partial-birth abortion as part and parcel of *Roe*, and have blocked Bayh from getting even a vice-presidential nomination. Social-issue liberalism is central to the identity of large numbers of Democratic voters. They are not likely to tolerate any serious turn to the right on social issues.

Some liberals argue that instead of moving right on social issues, the Democrats should move left on economics. On this theory, white working-class voters would not be attracted to the Republicans on cultural issues if Democrats were offering them tangible benefits. These voters have suffered from years of economic decline. If Democrats do not give them hope, they will lash out at gays, blacks, and Hollywood. Howard Dean took up this analysis during the primaries, arguing that national health insurance would trump "guns, God, and gays" among southerners with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks.

The flaw in this theory is the possibility that when voters say that their top concern is the country's moral decline, they may not be expressing a submerged rage at their economic circumstances. It may be that their top concern is moral decline.

BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

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Moving left on economics also carries real costs. Hardening Democratic opposition to free trade is already risking a reduction in the party's support from Wall Street and some business lobbies. If the party loses its reputation for sobriety and respectability on economic issues, it could start losing voters in the suburbs as well as campaign donations.

Those Democrats who want their party to embrace a more muscular foreign policy have a stronger case than the factions considered so far. If they prevail, on-the-fence voters will worry less about the Democrats' impact on national security. And it is possible to imagine enough liberal voters' reconciling themselves to hawkishness over the next four years to make this idea practicable. It is, at least, more possible than it is to imagine liberal voters' moving right on social issues.

Unless, that is, controversial foreign-policy initiatives have become inseparable from the culture wars. During the last nine presidential elections, Democrats have run hawkish candidates three times—in 1992, 1996, and 2000. It cannot be a coincidence that these were the three elections of those nine in which foreign-policy issues were least important, and in which people felt least threatened by foreigners.

This pattern suggests a very dispiriting possibility for Democrats. It may be that when national-security issues become prominent, two things happen. A majority of the public becomes hawkish. And most liberals have an equal and opposite reaction. If that is true, it is bad news for the hawkish Democrats who want their party to commit itself to winning the War on Terror just as Harry Truman committed it to the Cold War. It is bad news because it means that the political reflexes of modern Democrats are those of the second half of the Cold War, during which a relatively dovish party lost four of five presidential elections.

Watching the Democrats try out their various theories as to how they will return to power, one is struck by the sheer passivity of it all.

The hawkish Democrats' best chance of winning, then, is if foreign-policy issues recede in importance. A makeover of the party, in other words, is most likely when it is least needed. The interests of the hawkish Democrats thus turn out to be the same as the wish of the majority of their party: that the war and the terrorists would just go away on their own. Then we could return to a politics in which the top issue is keeping the price of medicine down.

The Democrats' other great wish is that Republicans will commit some massive political blunder that will allow them to regain power without adjusting their views on anything. It is certainly possible that Republicans will oblige by overreaching on Social Security or tax reform, or fighting one another about immigration, or allowing power to corrupt them. Some Democrats, and even more journalists, have pointed out that second terms are often plagued by damaging scandals.

That is a false comfort for Democrats. The data points used to bolster that theory—Watergate, Iran-contra, impeachment—all unfolded when the president faced a Congress of the other party. That situation does not obtain today. Nor is it likely to obtain after the midterm elections of 2006. Democrats have 18 Senate seats up to the Republicans' 15. To regain power, they would have to hold all of their seats while winning two-fifths of the Republicans'. It is possible, but it is not the way to bet.

There is a sliver of truth lurking in here, however, that could prove important. With Republicans holding the White House and Congress, the time would appear to be ripe for Democrats to indulge in some anti-Washington populism. Thus far, Democrats have been curiously unwilling to present their complaints about deficits, health care, and other issues as part of "the mess in D.C." It may be that many of them still see attacking the Beltway as fouling their own nest. Surely by 2008, that will have changed.

On the other hand, the Democrats did not learn much from the last electoral drubbing, in 2002. The polls that November were not ambiguous: Democrats trailed Republicans by 30 points on national security. Yet the Democrats somehow decided that their mistake had been not being sufficiently opposed, or loud in their opposition, to Bush's foreign policy. House Democrats chose Nancy Pelosi as their leader. Howard Dean set the tone for their presidential field.

In recent months, Democrats have become fond of calling themselves members of "the reality-based community." The reference is to a comment by an anonymous White House aide in a Bush-bashing *New York Times Magazine* story. But the liberal bloggers who have adopted this motto have missed the point of the comment. The aide was saying, inartfully, that liberals merely analyzed the world while conservatives were changing it—and liberals would be left simply adjusting to new realities.

Watching the Democrats try out their various theories as to how they will return to power, one is struck above all by the sheer passivity of it all. Democrats are waiting for a charismatic leader to emerge, for Republicans to stumble, for the dollar's decline to cause an economic crisis, for demographic trends to carry them to victory. Patience, it turns out, is one of the liberal virtues. And the art of losing isn't hard to master. **NR**

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■ POLITICS II

MooreOns

The Democratic party won't change until it has to—really has to

JONAH GOLDBERG

EARLIER this month Peter Beinart, the editor of *The New Republic* (and a friend of mine), called for his movement and party to purge those liberals and Democrats who are soft on "Islamic totalitarianism." His argument is that the Democrats should emulate those liberals who founded the Americans for Democratic Action in January 1947, when "130 men and women met at Washington's Willard Hotel to save American liberalism," as Beinart begins his essay. "A few months earlier, in articles in *The New Republic* and elsewhere, the columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop had warned that 'the liberal movement is now engaged in sowing the seeds of its own destruction.' Liberals, they argued, 'consistently avoided the great political reality of the present: the Soviet challenge to the West.'"

Beinart laments, correctly, that there's "little liberal passion" for anything like a similar commitment to fighting Islamist totalitarians today. Beholden to MoveOn.org (which opposed invading Afghanistan for fear of perpetuating the "cycle of violence" and making America "like the terrorists") and to the ethos, if not the august personage, of Michael Moore (who believes Bush is more of a threat than Bin Laden), liberals are unprepared to form the "fighting" party Beinart wants. John Kerry's insistence that "we shouldn't be opening firehouses in Baghdad and closing them down in our own communities" was little more than pandering to the MooreOn wing of the party.

One of the reasons Beinart's piece has been so widely discussed is that the 1947 analogy is so compelling. The problem is that it doesn't hold up. Sure, 1947 was an important and honorable moment for the Democrats. But there's a reason Beinart chose an event from nearly 60 years ago: *He had to.* For the remainder of the century, party liberals drifted away from the spirit of '47, instead embracing precisely the outlook Beinart now wants to eradicate from his party. The great danger in intellectual history is the mistaking of words for things. In Beinart's version of history, liberals acted on bold principle against other liberals equally motivated by bold principle. The problem is that principles are usually taken up out of necessity. World War II, for example, was a fight for survival before it was a fight against fascism. Similarly, the ADA's fight was first for the survival of the Democratic party—and for a principled defense of Western civilization second.

Borrowing some labels from a 1950 issue of *The New Leader*, Beinart divides the Democrats' anti-Communists and pro-Communists into "hards" and "softs." The hards considered anti-Communism the "fundamental litmus test for a decent left." The softs, God bless 'em, refused to make anti-Communism their "guiding principle" because all political evil was at the right end of the spectrum and "to attack the communists, reliable allies in the fight for civil rights and economic justice, was a distraction from the struggle for progress."

Consider Henry Wallace, FDR's former vice president and the former editor of *The New Republic* who ran for president in 1948 on the Progressive party ticket. The ADA opposed Wallace on principle, given that he was a Communist dupe surrounded by Soviet spies: Alger Hiss, for instance, had worked for Wallace at the Agriculture Department, and the latter once hoped to make Harry Dexter White—later a Venona-confirmed Soviet spy—Treasury secretary. Toward the end of WWII, Wallace even secretly met with the Washington head of the NKVD, offering him access to American nuclear scientists. Wallace also sided with the Soviets in opposing the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

The Progressive party itself was a creature of the Communist party. I. F. Stone wrote in 1950 that "the Communists have been the dominant influence in the Progressive Party . . . If it had not been for the Communists, there would have been no Progressive Party." Very true. John Abt, the Progressives' chief lawyer, was a member of Hiss's cell. Lee Pressman, who

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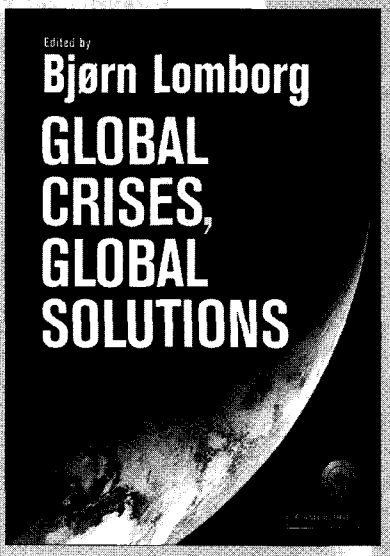

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headed the platform committee, was a Communist. Wallace's speechwriter, Charles Kramer, was exposed by the Venona papers as an active Soviet spy. Even Rexford Tugwell—arguably the most left-wing member of FDR's Brain Trust—eventually felt the need to leave the Progressive party because it was simply a Communist front. No wonder the Kremlin eagerly hoped for a Wallace victory.

So, sure: Huzzahs and wahoos to the ADA for being willing to fight the infiltration of their party by agents and sycophants of a totalitarian regime. But the softs of those days were not, in fact, mere wishy-washy blame-America-firsters. They were either "hard" *Communists* or so enamored of the Soviet Union as to make the distinction almost trivial. I am not one to take up for today's Left, but if today's softs were as infested with the lickspittles and henchmen of Osama bin Laden as the softs of '47 were infested with Stalinists, many of today's leading progressive Democrats would be in prison or on Death Row, and deservedly so. And "What was the Democratic party?" would soon be an answer on *Jeopardy!*

Beinart's ADA analogy is problematic.

Beinart wants today's liberals to launch a sweeping purge of today's softs when a similar necessity does not exist. Indeed, a powerful motivation for the ADA in 1947 was that it—like everyone else—was positive that Harry S. Truman would lose in 1948 and that the defeated party would fall into the hands of the Wallace-ites. That's why the ADA begged Dwight Eisenhower to run *against* Truman in the Democratic primaries. The idea that a pro-Islamist faction is poised to takeover today's Democratic party seems a bit farfetched. Still farther-fetched is the idea that such a party could win at the polls.

Another flaw in the Beinart analogy is that since 1947 the Democrats have never turned their backs—in a serious way—on conventional softs of the Michael Moore variety. While in 1947 the ADAers were such Red-baiters a leftist today would find them indistinguishable from McCarthyites, once they did what they needed to do, most Cold War liberals replaced their steel spines with rubber ones and became anti–anti-Communist.

So yes, the Democratic party was still nominally anti-Communist, but American liberalism wasn't. Even under JFK, the apotheosis of Democratic anti-Communism, this was the case. The same month Kennedy tried to overthrow Castro, Harvey Schechter of the Anti-Defamation League wrote in the *New York Times* that liberals needed to discard their conviction "that liberalism and anti-Communism are somehow inherently incompatible."

Beinart notes that Vietnam tore the party apart, but he underestimates how much it served to make the Democrats a soft party. Not even his support for segregation prevented Sen. J. William Fulbright from becoming a liberal hero of the Democratic party owing to his willingness to oppose the war. In 1971, Fulbright declared of the USSR: "Were it not for the fact that they are Communists—and therefore 'bad' people—while we are Americans—and therefore 'good' people—our policies would be nearly indistinguishable." Let us recall that Fulbright was Bill Clinton's mentor and that Clinton awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom virtually the first chance he got. And in 1972 George McGovern, a Wallace delegate in 1948 (he's still proud of that today), pleaded "Come home, America," promised a nearly 40 percent defense cut, and declared that Wallace had been right from the start.

In 1976, the true heirs to the ADA—"Scoop Jackson Democrats" at the Coalition for a Democratic Majority—supported Jimmy Carter hoping he would take a strong stand against Communism. Instead, Carter would tell them he had no "inordinate fear" of it. Carter did appoint one member of the CDM to his government, Peter Rosenblatt—representative to Micronesia! Take that, Brezhnev! In the 1980s, while Reagan was fighting the Cold War, the candidate *The New Republic* would endorse in 2004—some guy named Kerry—was jaunting off to Nicaragua to score a separate peace. The U.S. invasion of Grenada was, he said, "a bully's show of force." Indeed, Kerry originally became a liberal knight because he threw away his medals and apologized for committing Genghis Khan-style "war crimes" in Vietnam.

Then there was Bill Clinton. Beinart wildly exaggerates Bill Clinton's hawkishness and its effect on liberals. Haiti, Somalia, and Yugoslavia were all palatable to liberals only because American interests were not obviously at stake. In much the same way that Woodrow Wilson succeeded in buying progressive support for WWI by promising that America had "no selfish ends to serve" but only "peace without victory," Clinton's wars appealed to liberals precisely because they seemed like "foreign policy as social work," in the words of Michael Mandelbaum. While Michael Moore personally opposed the Kosovo war, this approach appeals to the MooreOns, in part because it serves as a form of atonement for America's alleged sins during the Cold War—sins Clinton traveled the world to apologize for.

Beinart says 9/11 "validated" Clinton's transformation of Democratic foreign policy into an unapologetically hawkish one, with Kerry at the forefront. Why? Because Kerry and the party elders were willing to go along with counterstrikes against Afghanistan after the worst attack on our soil in American history. Again: Huzzahs and wahoos all around. But isn't that a bit of a low bar, politically and intellectually? That's not to say they didn't believe in the use of force, but again, as with the ADA in 1947 and John Kerry in 2004, it's hard to see where necessity ends and principle begins.

The final problem with the analogy is the most relevant. In 1947, the Democratic party was run by bosses and power-brokers. Purges require purgers, and the primary system purged them. Today, Democratic nominees are chosen by Democratic voters, particularly activist ones. They could have voted for a "hard" Democrat in 2004. They didn't. The next best thing to bosses are donors, but the money in the Democratic party comes overwhelmingly from Hollywood and the MooreOns. These groups, to varying degrees, distrust talk of American values and are deeply, deeply susceptible to a radical chic that says Michael Moore is speaking truth to power when he declares that America "is known for bringing sadness and misery to places around the globe." Conservatives should wish Beinart a lot of luck, but woe betide America should things get so bad that today's Democrats actually see the necessity of acting like the '47 Democrats. **NR**

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■ AT WAR

Gunning for Gonzales

The Left will assail the attorney general-designate on detainee policy; he, and we, should stand firm

LEE A. CASEY & DAVID B. RIVKIN JR.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S nomination of Judge Alberto Gonzales to succeed John Ashcroft as attorney general will soon come before the Senate for its advice and consent, and there is going to be a battle royal. The Left is marshaling its forces to bloody Gonzales, and clearly hopes to deny him confirmation. The pretext for opposing this superbly qualified appointee will be his role, as White House counsel, in developing the administration's legal position on the classification and treatment of individuals captured in the War on Terror. The stakes in this battle are high: At issue may be nothing less than the future of American sovereignty.

Ever since the Abu Ghraib prisoner-abuse photographs surfaced nearly a year ago, opponents of the Bush administration's policies in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere have used those images in their ongoing effort to discredit the American legal position on "detainees." That position—which correctly denies captured al-Qaeda and Taliban members the rights and privileges granted to honorable prisoners of war under the Geneva Conventions—was outlined by Gonzales, based on legal advice received from the Departments of Justice and State, in a memorandum to the president dated January 25, 2002.

Messrs. Casey & Rivkin served in the Justice Department under Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, and are expert members of the U.N. Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. The views here expressed are their own.

Gonzales explained in that memo that the United States is engaged in "a new kind of war" that is "not the traditional clash between nations adhering to the laws of war that formed the backdrop" for the Geneva Conventions. This "new paradigm," he concluded, "renders obsolete Geneva's strict limitations on questioning of enemy prisoners and renders quaint some of its provisions requiring that captured enemy be afforded such things as commissary privileges, script (i.e., advances of monthly pay), athletic uniforms, and scientific instruments."

The "quaint" reference will undoubtedly be brought up over and over again during the judge's Senate hearings. In truth, Gonzales was being charitable. He could have used far harsher language to describe provisions that, were they applicable to al-Qaeda and the Taliban, would require the United States to provide detainees with amenities such as dormitories, kitchenettes, sports equipment, canteens, and a monthly pay allowance in Swiss francs—all while captured (or kidnapped) Americans are routinely butchered. It is hardly surprising that, while the administration preserved the core requirement of humane treatment for detainees captured in the War on Terror, it rejected calls to grant them POW status.

The Geneva POW Convention was one of four treaties negotiated after World War II, with the circumstances of that conflict in mind. It assumed that captured combatants would by and large be young men conscripted into mid-20th-century-type mass armies controlled by nation-states, which themselves were ready and able to comply with the basic rules of war. Neither the treaty's drafters, nor its terms, nor the governments that agreed to it contemplated the development of transnational terror organizations beyond the control of any state, motivated by religious zealotry and capable of delivering massive attacks on the civilian population.

Even so, the Geneva Conventions do not extend POW protections to captured enemy combatants who do not qualify as "lawful" or "privileged belligerents." At a minimum, this status requires a proper command structure, uniforms, carrying arms openly, and otherwise operating in accordance with the laws of war. Those laws forbid the purposeful targeting of civilians—the preferred tactic of al-

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Qaeda, the Taliban, and the Iraqi "insurgents."

Although the administration's opponents have variously claimed that the Geneva Conventions do apply to such irregular "unlawful combatants"—either because such individuals are the "armed forces" of Afghanistan or because they are "civilians"—this was not the story 25 years ago. At that time, precisely because the law denies POW status to unlawful combatants, the Left made extraordinary efforts to legitimize the guerrilla tactics favored by "national liberation movements." The result was the 1977 Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions, a treaty President Reagan rejected and which, as a result, does not bind the United States.

Undeterred by such legal niceties, the administration's critics have continued to demand that effective POW status be granted to captured terrorists or that they be treated like ordinary criminal defendants, entitled to a speedy trial before a civilian court. The critics have also inaccurately accused the United States of "torture." This claim is based on the use of "stress" methods of interrogation, such as isolation, exposure to noise, and standing for up to four hours. This is the genesis of the second accusation against Gonzales: that he commissioned a memorandum, dated August 1, 2002, deliberately defining down the concept of "torture."

This memo, which was prepared by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel (OLC), has become more controversial than Gonzales's own memo on the Geneva Conventions. Word on the Washington street is that the opinion was originally demanded by the CIA, which was concerned about its interrogators' facing unfounded criminal charges if coercive questioning methods were employed. The memo concludes that torture is unlawful, that any criminal prosecution would require proof of a specific intent to inflict severe pain or suffering, and that the federal statute criminalizing torture cannot, consistent with constitutional separation-of-powers principles, be applied to the president's detention and interrogation of enemy combatants in wartime. This last point is clearly the memo's most controversial, and although the OLC offers solid legal arguments to support each of its conclusions, they can certainly be honestly debated.

Few of the critics, however, have chosen to wade through the memo's 50 single-spaced pages of text, dozens of citations, and 26 footnotes to contest the substance of the OLC's work. Rather, the Left has expressed outrage that the opinion was requested at all—as if asking what conduct is legally punishable as "torture" constitutes an endorsement of its use. Of course, the most pernicious—and baseless—accusation is that this memorandum, along with Gonzales's earlier position on the application of the Geneva Conventions, led to the abuses at Abu Ghraib by creating a "permissive climate." Although this charge is rebutted by the final report of the Schlesinger Commission (established to conduct an independent review of the abuses at Abu Ghraib and alleged abuses elsewhere), it remains an article of faith among the administration's opponents.

Alberto Gonzales

Some of this is clearly motivated by partisan politics, but there is much more than that at work here. The administration's most determined opponents object to the fact that the United States has refused to accept Protocol I when most other countries have accepted it, and that the American government maintains a definition of "torture" more restrictive than the norm propounded by international advocacy organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, which effectively considers torture to be any coercive method of interrogation designed to break down the prisoner's resistance, regardless of physical or mental impact.

The reasons for this run right to the San Andreas fault of political philosophy. For the past 400 years or so, the global organizing principle has been one of consent. Nation-states, being equally sovereign and independent actors, can be bound to legal obligations only to the extent that they have consented to be so. The Bush administration has accordingly taken the position that the United States is not bound by new requirements for the treatment of unlawful combatants, such as those in Protocol I, because, as a sovereign and independent state, it has not agreed to be.

Its opponents, however, believe that these requirements are "universal" and applicable to all states whether or not they have assented to the treaties, or particular interpretations of treaties, that originally established the requirements. They posit this universalism as a new and better super-national organizing principle. Indeed, for decades, international activists and academics have argued that the traditional system of independent nation-states is inadequate to ensure global peace and justice. In the human-rights area, they claim states are no longer permitted to "opt out." This includes the United States on issues such as the death penalty, the use of military force without U.N. approval, and the treatment of detainees.

It is no coincidence that American democracy developed when contract theories of society and government were intellectually ascendant, or that American conservatives continue to cling to "the consent of the governed" as the source of political legitimacy. But it is not surprising that the Left's attachment to this fundamental principle—an attachment that has been waning since the mid-19th century at least—is now virtually exhausted. Popular sovereignty has a decidedly mixed record in producing "progressive" results, especially on questions of war, peace, and national security.

In developing the administration's policy on detainees, Judge Gonzales looked to the treaties to which the United States has consented, and interpreted those treaties in accordance with traditional laws of war and the Constitution's overarching requirements. That, in the eyes of the administration's opponents, was his sin, and they consider it unforgivable. And that is why conservatives must defend his nomination to be attorney general, and why they must prevail. **NR**

ROMAN GENN

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■ AT WAR II

Helping Our Heroes

Tocqueville's America can be seen at Walter Reed Hospital

NOEMIE EMERY

THE newspapers are where you go to see the early results of the War on Terror: the elections held in Afghanistan in October; the rise in Iraq of political parties; other stirrings throughout the Middle East. "Drowned out by the bombings in Iraq," columnist Jackson Diehl wrote in October, "the Bush administration's democracy initiative for the rest of the Middle East creeps quietly forward . . . independent human rights groups and pro-democracy movements around the region are continuing to sprout."

Walter Reed Army Medical Center is where you go to see some of the cost of this mission: the young men and women missing arms and legs who are waiting for their new limbs to be fitted; the ones learning to walk and to run on their new metal legs; the ones recovering from mortar injuries; the ones having their faces rebuilt through series of surgeries. It is also where you go to see the web of support that has grown up around them—a "volunteer home front for a volunteer army," in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*'s Daniel Henninger, a "coalition of the willing" in support of the troops. This medical center works with the military, but is not run by it, and with various arms of the federal government, but is not run by that either. It is instead a perfect example of what Tocqueville describes as "civil society": the ad hoc, spontaneous comings-together that can take the place of cumbersome government, and which form the real glue of American life.

Noemie Emery is a contributing editor to *The Weekly Standard* and author of the forthcoming *Great Expectations: The Lives of Political Sons.*

The support system at Walter Reed, in its inception and the way it developed, is a model to make Tocqueville proud. The story begins with Karen Theobald, a friend of Tom O'Connell, who is an expert on special operations at the Defense Department. Theobald had worked as a publicist for many sports figures, and when the war in Afghanistan began O'Connell asked her to use her connections to get prominent athletes to visit the troops. She did, and the trip sparked her desire to help those injured in Afghanistan and later Iraq.

She became a regular volunteer at the Walter Reed Center, where along with hospital commander Col. Jonathan Jaffin and Barbara Green of the Red Cross she formed a committee to come up with new ways to help patients and families. They set aside the second Saturday of every month for a party, where volunteers and soldiers could meet. When the Iraq War started, she and two career officers—retired admiral John Totushek and Lt. Gen. Theodore Stroup Jr.—formed another group, the Helping Our Heroes Foundation, to help wounded veterans deal with financial crises, career and educational problems, and other challenges of reentry into civilian life. The group held a Memorial Day dinner last May that brought patients together with 35 Republican senators. The group's first Hire a Hero evening—an event that brings veterans together with potential employers—was held on December 8.

The wonderful thing about the Walter Reed program is the way it rested on friendship and happenstance.

When Theobald and the patients ran into political problems—red tape and some institutional roadblocks—Theobald called Barbara Ledeen, an aide to Rick Santorum at the Senate Republican Conference who has a large circle of activist friends. Ledeen started coming to the Saturday parties, and before long she was acting as a one-woman switchboard, connecting veterans and families to their senators and congressmen, working to secure help and money, and leaning on uncooperative bureaucrats. In September 2003, Ledeen began sending out mass e-mails to all the Hill's Republican staffers, urging them and their bosses to appear at the Saturday parties. Staffers from Tom DeLay's office, for example, began to appear every month. Senators Ted Stevens, John Cornyn, and Jeff Sessions came, and spent hours visiting patients in wards.

Thanks to all this connecting, complaints were registered, problems were solved, and money was found for financial emergencies. Phone cards were donated by the hundreds and thousands to keep patients in touch with their friends and families. When patients' families had problems traveling from their homes to the medical center, airline tickets arrived via friends in high places. A one-on-one mentoring program was set up. Volunteers took patients who had recovered sufficiently on visits to Congress and the Pentagon, and took their children to playgrounds, parks, and museums. Cadets arrived from West Point, and high-school students from private schools in the area, to talk to and flirt with young soldiers not much older than they.

All of this amounted to an attempt to provide a financial and emotional cushion for people undergoing multiple strains and trauma, and facing pain and great problems, far from home. A young Republican staffer writes, "I have befriended several of the soldiers, and taken them 'off campus' into D.C. to dinner, movies, parties, etc. . . . I also got Verizon to donate a BlackBerry handheld device to a young Ranger who had lost his hearing and would be traveling between his home and the hospital . . . we thought this was a way he could always get in touch with his friends." None of these things, on its own, is monumental. But multiply each act by hundreds and together they mean a lot.

In Europe, as Tocqueville wrote in his 1835 masterpiece, when you want a great purpose you have a government program; in England, you have a great lord and his patronage. In America, you have a self-selected group of people who unite on their own will and for their own reasons, and bring in their own collections

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of contacts and skills. The wonderful thing about the Walter Reed program is the way it rested on friendship and happenstance: on Tom O'Connell's bringing in Karen Theobald, who brought in the sports community; on O'Connell and Theobald's bringing in Barbara Ledeen, who brought in the Republican side of Congress and her limitless circle of friends. As Henninger writes in his November 26 column, this has been going on all over the country, often by people connecting via the Internet—in associations such as Angels of Mercy (connected with the Walter Reed Hospital), Soldiers' Angels, Operation Gratitude, and Adopt a Platoon—in support of the war and/or the troops.

In this, they are part of a very old story. "Americans of all ages, all conditions, all minds, constantly unite," Tocqueville explained. "As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have conceived a sentiment or an idea . . . they seek each other out, and when they have found each other, they unite. From then on, they are no longer isolated men, but a power one sees from afar, whose actions serve as an example; a power that speaks." This is an army of friends, and those who become friends, brought together by service and gratitude.

On December 11, 2004, the extended support group at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center threw its Christmas party for volunteers, patients, and families. The new hospital commander, Col. James Gilman, was there with his family. Undersecretary of defense Douglas Feith was there with his wife, as was transportation secretary Norman Mineta. There were students from local high schools and members of Congress. More than 150 large gift bags were given out to the patients, and more were passed out in the wards. Country bands played and a choir sang carols. An event planned for 75 people and scheduled from noon until 4 went on until dinner, and drew hundreds of people—people grateful for the news from Afghanistan, for the stirrings reported in Arab societies, for the end of Saddam and his dangerous tyranny—and humbled by those who had made it all happen, and paid the price on behalf of the rest of us. "Sometimes you have to say thank you," said Karen Theobald. So sometimes you do. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH**

The Fab Four

Why America has fallen for *Desperate Housewives*

MYRNA BLYTH

I CONFESS: I'm hooked. I know what I will be doing this Sunday night at 9 and every other Sunday night for the rest of the season. Along with over 20 million other Americans I will be hunkered down watching ABC's *Desperate Housewives*, the show that has had the most successful launch, ratings-wise, since *Friends* started in 1994. And just as *Friends* was a sign of its times—with its super-groomed, big-city yuppie singles hanging out in a coffee bar and looking for love—*Desperate Housewives*, with its middle-class suburban wives and mothers, seems to be just right for today.

First of all, *Housewives* airs on Sunday, the perfect time for such a series. Over the years there have often been television programs, from Ed Sullivan's "really big show" to *60 Minutes*, that have helped end the weekend and give viewers something to talk about in the office on Monday morning. Now weekends are more frantic than ever, especially for families with kids. After two days of ferrying children to soccer games and ice-skating lessons, attending church, cooking Sunday dinner for grandparents, and overseeing the homework that never gets done till just before bed on Sunday night, moms all over the country are collapsing on the couch, grateful for a fix of gloriously entertaining chick-TV. And a surprising number of dads, also involved in family activities, must be collapsing right next to them, since the show is also doing well with men.

Why is *Desperate Housewives* so popular—the first breakthrough series in years? Because it is so shocking, so salacious, so full of steamy sex and sin? Certainly that's what some of its conservative critics maintain. And about a month ago, ABC—purposely I would wager—fueled the controversy with a vulgar little promotion for the show on *Monday Night Football* that displayed seductive *Housewives* actress Nicollette Sheridan's bare back and had absolutely nothing to do with the show's plotline.

Since then, if you watch cable TV's rant-and-rave talk shows, you'll have heard, almost every night, a couple of the regular guests preaching to the converted and declaring that *Desperate Housewives* is leading American families straight to hell—though I doubt many of the most outspoken critics ever bothered to really watch the show before climbing up on their soapboxes.

Some feminists don't like the show much either, complaining that because the four main characters are all "stay-at-home" wives and mothers they are throwbacks to a pre-feminist era. Feminists also decried ABC's "sexist" promotional spot, proving nothing gets more media attention than that rare moment of bad taste that offends both the Right and the Left.

In truth, *Housewives* owes a lot to both traditional women's magazines and chick-lit novels, which are very popular today—think *Bridget Jones* and its dozens of imitators. In chick-lit books, friends sustain the wise-cracking heroine until the right guy comes along. In "hen-lit" books about middle-aged women, friends sustain the wisecracking heroine after she's been dumped by the guy she thought was the right one, helping her realize she is better off without him. In both categories, the supportive relationship between women friends is a key plot ingredient.

It's also the basis for *Housewives*, in which the four protagonists are close friends and have banded together to try to find out why their fifth friend unexpectedly committed suicide. They are concerned—as real women would be—that they didn't realize their friend was

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so desperately unhappy. And by the way, the housewives all tend to be in the "hen-lit" demographic. Trust me, that's also part of the appeal for many female viewers. In recent seasons, bachelor-seeking 20-somethings or apprentice wannabees were all the rage, and women over 30 tended to disappear from TV screens.

The only really naughty housewife is Gabrielle, the richest, best-dressed, and, shall we say, most self-indulgent of the four, all of whom are neighbors on Wisteria Lane. A wisteria, by the way, is a pretty vine, though also a creeper that can take over and ultimately kill a garden. Get the symbolism? At the start of the series Gabrielle's problem was her macho husband who could buy her a diamond necklace but wouldn't listen to her. For years, one of the best cover lines on women's magazines was "How to get him to listen." To deal with this lack of "emotional intimacy," as a women's magazine would put it, Gabrielle turned to John, the 17-year-old hunky gardener, for consolation. And no, she and John don't talk much.

But one of the other housewives, Susan—the ditziest of the four, whose husband left her for a younger woman—has found out about this little affair. In a recent episode she gave Gabrielle a tongue-lashing about her immoral behavior, and wouldn't buy Gabrielle's "my husband doesn't understand me" explanation of why she strayed. "That's a rationalization," she snapped during their confrontation. And even though Susan is most of the time the klutz who provides comic relief and is supposed to be so incompetent she can't cook anything more challenging than mac and cheese, she knows right from wrong.

And that is also key to the appeal of the show and part of what makes it so reflective of today. Unlike the glitzy nighttime soap operas of the '80s (think *Dallas* and *Dynasty*), in which the rich and powerful outwitted each other with dastardly deeds and gained from their villainy, this show is about ordinary women trying to be good and to raise good children, women who feel guilty when they or their kids behave badly.

One of the other housewives, Bree—a Martha Stewart clone who still wears her hair in an early-'60s Smith College-girl flip—is so worried about her callow son's moral character that she tipped the school authorities off to the stash of pot he had stored in his gym locker so they would kick him off the swim team. And now Gabrielle is discovering that her untalkative husband has some big problems with the feds, and that she may be more sinned against than sinning.

But the real heroine of the show and, I guarantee, the crowd's favorite is Lynette, a former corporate go-getter with a husband who travels nonstop and four rambunctious kids. Lynette was once a big-paycheck success; now she is trying unsuccessfully to handle her Twin Boys from Hell. Yes, she really, really wants to be "just a mom," and a good one at that, like millions of other women. But raising kids is tough, demanding, exhausting work—something the feminists never really appreciated.

The show's creator and executive producer, Marc Cherry, who has been described "a somewhat conservative, gay Republican," said his own mom—"a perfect wife and mother"—told him she had "moments of great desperation when . . . my dad was off getting a master's degree in Oklahoma and she was alone with three kids—five, four, and three—who were just bouncing off the walls." Mom says about her son's show: It's "closer to reality than most of the reality shows."

ROMAN GENN

And yes, Lynette did get hooked on the kids' ADD meds but got clean with the help of her friends. Now she is worried that the nanny she hired in a moment of desperation may not be as capable as she seems. This is a nighttime soap in which the most popular female character wears sweats, not glitz, and worries about whether she can trust not her man but her nanny. Does that say something about our family-centric times?

Of course, these housewives are not a true reflection of today's American women. In recent episodes the show's plotline has gotten trickier, and the husbands have turned out to be sleazier. And at least once an episode one of the housewives manages to turn up in Victoria's Secret underwear. But the four remain likable, so viewers are entertained by them and not turned off by their flaws. They are not like the heroines on the Lifetime channel's soppy "victim-of-the-day movies" who are always being abused by bad husbands, bad boyfriends, or bad doctors. These girls can be shrewd and tough. They want to stay married, even when their guys are not the greatest (though I've noticed the show is beginning to veer into "you're better off without him" hen-lit territory). They love their kids desperately, even when those kids are behaving their worst. They want to be good, caring friends. Basically, one feels that like most American wives and mothers they would prefer to have traditional lifestyles, and try for the most part to maintain traditional values. If a pollster had wandered by Wisteria Lane in late October, I bet three out of four of them would have said they were voting for George W. Bush.

And let's not ignore the fact that, as a show, *Desperate Housewives* is very well acted and has a witty script with writing as crisp as one of Bree's 500-thread Egyptian-cotton bed sheets. It garnered five Golden Globe nominations, including one for best comedy series. And one week it beat the finale of CBS's *Survivor: Vanuatu* in the ratings. Who wouldn't applaud the housewives for doing no more than that? **NR**

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■ COVER STORY

GOP, You Are Warned

Immigration could cause a Republican crackup

DAVID FRUM

No issue, not one, threatens to do more damage to the Republican coalition than immigration. There's no issue where the beliefs and interests of the party rank-and-file diverge more radically from the beliefs and interests of the party's leaders. Immigration for Republicans in 2005 is what crime was for Democrats in 1965 or abortion in 1975: a vulnerable point at which a strong-minded opponent could drive a wedge that would shatter the GOP.

President Bush won reelection because he won 10 million more votes in 2004 than he did in 2000. Who were these people? According to Ruy Teixeira—a shrewd Democratic analyst of voting trends—Bush scored his largest proportional gains among white voters who didn't complete college, especially women. These voters rallied to the president for two principal reasons: because they respected him as a man who lived by their treasured values of work, family, honesty, and faith; and because they trusted him to keep the country safe.

Yet Bush is already signaling that he intends to revive the amnesty/guestworker immigration plan he introduced a year ago—and hastily dropped after it ignited a firestorm of opposition. This plan dangerously divides the Republican party and affronts crucial segments of the Republican vote.

The plan is not usually described as an "amnesty" because it does not immediately legalize illegal workers in this country. Instead, it offers illegals a three-year temporary work permit. But this temporary permit would be indefinitely renewable and would allow illegals a route to permanent residency, so it is reasonably predictable that almost all of those illegals who obtain the permit will end up settling permanently in the United States. The plan also recreates the guestworker program of the 1950s—allowing employers who cannot find labor at the wages they wish to pay to advertise for workers outside the country. Those workers would likewise begin with a theoretically temporary status; but they too would probably end up settling permanently.

This is a remarkably relaxed approach to a serious border-security and labor-market problem. Employers who use illegal labor have systematically distorted the American labor market by reducing wages and evading taxes in violation of the rules that others follow. The president's plans ratify this gaming of the system and encourage more of it. It invites entry by an ever-expanding number of low-skilled workers, threatening the livelihoods of low-skilled Americans—the very same ones who turned out for the president in November.

NATIONAL REVIEW has historically favored greater restrictions on legal as well as illegal immigration. But you don't have to travel all the way down the NR highway to be troubled by the prospect of huge increases in immigration, with the greatest increases likely to occur among the least skilled.

The president's permissive approach has emboldened senators and mayors (such as New York's Michael Bloomberg) to oppose almost all enforcement actions against illegals. In September 2003, for example, Bloomberg signed an executive order forbidding New York police to share information on immigration offenses with the Immigration Service, except when the illegal broke some other law or was suspected of terrorist activity. And only last month, a House-Senate conference stripped from the intelligence-overhaul bill almost all the border-security measures recommended by the 9/11 commission.

The president's coalition is already fracturing from the tension between his approach to immigration and that favored by voters across the country. Sixty-seven House Republicans—almost one-third of the caucus—voted against the final version of the intelligence overhaul. And I can testify firsthand to the unpopularity of the amnesty/guestworker idea: I was on the conservative talk-radio circuit promoting a book when the president's plan was first proposed last January. Everywhere I went, the phones lit up with calls from outraged listeners who wanted to talk about little else. Every host I asked agreed: They had not seen such a sudden, spontaneous, and unanimous explosion of wrath from their callers in years.

Five years ago, Candidate George W. Bush founded his approach to immigration issues on a powerful and important insight: The illegal-immigration problem cannot be solved by the United States alone. Two-thirds of the estimated 9 million illegals

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in the U.S. are from Mexico. Mexico is also the largest source of *legal* immigration to the United States. What caused this vast migration? Between 1940 and 1970, the population of Mexico more than doubled, from 20 million to 54 million. In those years, there was almost no migration to the United States from Mexico at all. Since 1970, however, some 65 million more Mexicans have been born—and about 20 million of them have migrated northward, with most of that migration occurring after 1980.

Obviously, the 30 years from 1940 to 1970 are different in many ways from the 30 years after 1970s. But here's one factor that surely contributed to the Mexican exodus: In the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, the Mexican economy grew at an average rate of almost 7 percent a year. Thanks to the oil boom, the Mexican economy continued to grow rapidly through the troubled 1970s. But since 1980, Mexico has averaged barely 2 percent growth. The average Mexican was actually poorer in 1998 than he had been in 1981. You'd move too if that happened to you.

Recognizing the connection between Mexican prosperity and American border security, the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations all worked hard to promote Mexican growth. The Reagan and Clinton administrations bailed out Mexican banks in 1982 and 1995; the first Bush administration negotiated, and Clinton passed, NAFTA. George W. Bush came to office in 2001 envisioning another round of market opening with the newly elected government of his friend Vicente Fox, this time focusing on Mexico's protected, obsolete, economically wasteful, and environmentally backward energy industry.

Bush is wrong, terribly wrong, to subordinate border security to his desire for an amnesty deal.

Bush's hopes have been bitterly disappointed. The Fox government has actually done less to restore Mexican growth than the PRI governments of the 1990s. And so Bush has been pushed away from his grand vision and has instead accepted Fox's demand that the two countries concentrate on one issue: raising the status of Mexican illegals in the United States. But this won't work. Just as the U.S. cannot solve the problem by unilateral policing, so it also cannot solve it through unilateral concession. Bush had it right the first time.

Some of the president's approach to immigration remains right and wise. He is right to show a welcoming face to Hispanics legally resident in the United States. He is right to try to smooth the way to citizenship for legal permanent residents. He is right—more controversially—to give all who have contributed to Social Security, whatever their legal status, access to benefits from the Social Security account.

But he is wrong, terribly wrong, to subordinate border security to his desire for an amnesty deal—and still more wrong to make amnesty the centerpiece of his immigration strategy.

Right now, of course, the president does not have to worry much about political competition on the immigration issue. But Republicans shouldn't count on their opponents' ignoring such an opportunity election after election. "I am, you know, adamantly against illegal immigrants," Hillary Clinton told a New York radio station in November. And later: "People have to stop employing illegal immigrants. I mean, come up to Westchester, go to Suffolk and Nassau counties, stand on the street corners in Brooklyn or the Bronx. You're going to see loads of people waiting to get picked up to go do yard work and construction work and domestic work." Okay, so maybe Hillary will never pick up many votes in Red State America. But there are Democratic politicians who could.

Republicans need a new and better approach—one that holds their constituency together and puts security first.

First, Republicans should develop and practice a new way of speaking about immigration, one that makes clear that enforcement of the immigration laws is not anti-immigrant or anti-Mexican: It is anti-bad employer. Illegal immigration is like any other illegal business practice: a way for unscrupulous people to exploit others to gain an advantage over their law-abiding competitors.

Second, Republicans can no longer deny the truth underscored by the 9/11 commission: Immigration policy is part of homeland-security policy. Non-enforcement of the immigration laws is non-protection of Americans against those who would do them harm.

Third, Republicans have to begin taking enforcement seriously. It's ridiculous and demoralizing to toss aside cabinet nominees like Linda Chavez over alleged immigration violations while winking at massive law-breaking by private industry—or to regard immigration violations as so trivial that they can be used as a face-saving excuse for the dismissal of a nominee damaged by other allegations.

Fourth, skills shortages in the high-technology and health-care industries are genuine problems that have to be addressed—but they should not be used as an excuse to void immigration enforcement. Republicans can say yes to using immigration law to attract global talent, while saying no to companies that systematically violate immigration law to gain an advantage over their more scrupulous rivals.

Fifth, Mexico should not be allowed to sever the migration issue from trade and investment issues. Mexican political stability is a vital national-security issue of the United States—and just for that reason, Americans should not allow Mexican governments to use migration as a way to shirk the work of economic and social reform.

Finally—and most important—Republicans need to recognize that they have a political vulnerability and must take action to protect themselves. An election victory as big as 2004 can look inevitable in retrospect. But it wasn't, not at all. The Democrats could have won—and could still win in 2006 and 2008—by taking better advantage of Republican mistakes and making fewer of their own. And no mistake offers them a greater opportunity than the one-sidedness of the Bush immigration policy. The GOP is a party dedicated to national security, conservative social values, and free-market economics. The president's policy on immigration risks making it look instead like an employers' lobby group. That's the weak point at which the edge of the wedge could enter—and some smart Democratic politician is sharpening it right now. **NR**

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■ **ESSAY**

Che Chic

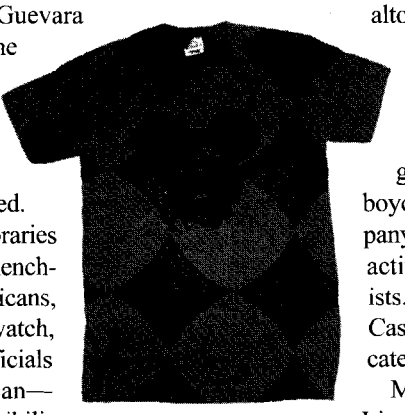
It's *très* disgusting

JAY NORDLINGER

It sometimes seems that Che Guevara is pictured on more items than Mickey Mouse. I'm talking about shirts and the like (but mainly shirts). One artist had the inspiration to combine the two: He put Mickey's ears on Guevara. Guevara's fans must not like it much.

The world is awash in Che paraphernalia, and this is an ongoing offense to truth, reason, and justice (a fine trio). Cuban Americans tend to be flummoxed by this phenomenon, and so do others who are decent and aware. There is a backlash against Che glorification, but it is tiny compared with the phenomenon itself. To turn the tide against Guevara would take massive reeducation—a term the old Communist would very much appreciate.

You find his items in the most surprising places. Or maybe they are not so surprising. The New York Public Library has a gift shop, and until just the other day, it sold a Guevara watch. The article featured Che's face and the word "REVOLUTION." The ad copy went like this: "Revolution is a permanent state with this clever watch, featuring the classic romantic image of Che Guevara, around which the word 'revolution'—revolves." Clever, indeed.



That one of the world's most prestigious libraries should have peddled an item puffing a brutal henchman was not big news, but some Cuban Americans, and a few others, reacted. On learning of the watch, many sent letters to the library, imploring its officials to come to their senses. One Cuban American—trying to play on longstanding American sensibilities—wrote, "Would you sell watches with the images of the Grand Dragon of the KKK?" It was also pointed out that Communist Cuba, which Guevara did a great deal to found and shape, is especially hard on librarians. The independent-library movement has been brutally repressed, and some of the most inspiring political prisoners stem from that movement.

Yet there is virtually no solidarity between Free World librarians and Cuba's librarians, or would-be librarians. A year ago, the civil libertarian Nat Hentoff "renounced"—his word—the award given him by the American Library Association, because the ALA cold-shoulders the Cubans, preferring to stick with the loved "socialist" tyrant, Castro.

In any event, the New York Public Library withdrew the watch just before Christmas, offering no statement.

The fog of time and the strength of anti–anti-Communism have obscured the real Che. Who was he? He was an Argentinian revolutionary who served as Castro's primary thug. He was especially infamous for presiding over summary executions at La Cabaña, the fortress that was his abattoir. He liked to administer the coup de grâce, the bullet to the back of the neck. And he loved to parade people past *El Paredón*, the reddened wall against which so many innocents were killed. Furthermore, he established the labor-camp system in which countless citizens—dissidents, democrats, artists, homosexuals—would suffer and die. This is the Cuban gulag. A Cuban-American writer, Humberto Fontova, described Guevara as "a combination of Beria and Himmler." Anthony Daniels once quipped, "The difference between [Guevara] and Pol Pot was that [the former] never studied in Paris."

And yet, he is celebrated by "liberals," this most illiberal of men. As Paul Berman summed up recently in *Slate*, "Che was an enemy of freedom, and yet he has been erected into a symbol of freedom. He helped establish an unjust social system in Cuba and has been erected into a symbol of social justice. He stood for the ancient rigidities of Latin-American thought, in a Marxist-Leninist version, and he has been celebrated as a free-thinker and a rebel."

Those who know, or care about, the truth concerning Guevara are often tempted to despair. The website of our own National Institutes of Health describes him this way: an "Argentine physician and freedom fighter." Guevara was a physician roughly like Mrs. Ceausescu was a chemist. As for freedom fighter . . . again, the temptation to despair is great.

And yet, Cuban Americans and their friends do not succumb altogether, as we have seen in the New York Public Library episode. Here is another episode: Not long ago, Burlington Coat Factory—a giant clothing retailer—ran a television ad featuring a teenager in a Guevara shirt. The ad was called—get this—"Values." Anti-Communists organized boycotts, picketing, and letter-writing, and the company withdrew the shirt—but not before calling the activists "provocateurs," "fanatics," and "extremists." (The company should get with it: The preferred Castroite term for democrats and human-rights advocates is *gusanos*, or "worms.")

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, a store called La La Ling sells a Guevara shirt for babies—actually, a "onesie." The ad text is as follows: "Featured in Time Magazine's holiday web shopping guide, 'Viva la revolution [sic]!' Now even the smallest rebel can express himself in these awesome baby onesies. This classic Che Guevara icon is also available on a long-sleeve tee in kids' sizes . . . Long live the rebel in all of us . . . there's no cooler iconic image than Che!"

Who could argue with that? Despite protests, the store has hung tough. Its owner told the South Florida *Sun-Sentinel*, "[The onesie] is one of our top sellers. The Che image is just trendy right now. . . . I don't think people are buying the shirt necessarily because of his exact politics. I have a baby store, and in my eyes it's just a T-shirt."

DEGREES OF GUILT

Some key questions are encapsulated right there. It seems obvious that some people know what they're celebrating and some do not. Growing up in Ann Arbor, Mich., I saw Che's face

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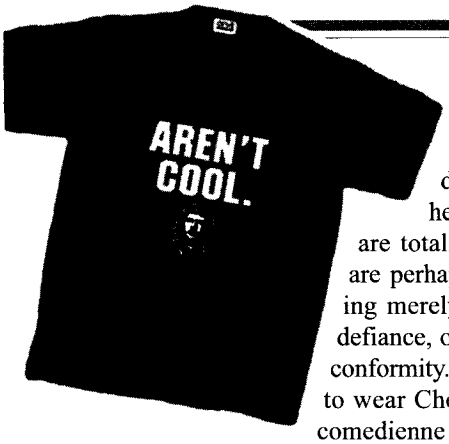


quite a bit, and, for the most part, those people knew what they were doing: They liked what he stood for. Other people are totally ignorant. Still others are perhaps semi-ignorant, wanting merely to express outrage or defiance, or to advertise their nonconformity. (Actually, in Ann Arbor, to wear Che was to conform.) The comedienne Margaret Cho pictured herself in a Guevara pose for a "Cho Revolution" tour. The boxer Mike Tyson, when he was feeling particularly aggrieved, had Guevara tattooed to his torso.

And last summer, you could find Che at the Minnesota State Fair: He was portrayed in seeds. (You mean, you've never heard of seed art?)

One of the most nauseating recent celebrations of Guevara took the form of a movie, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, whose executive producer was Robert Redford (one of the most dedicated Castro apologists in Hollywood, which is saying something). The movie received a standing ovation at the Sundance Festival. About this obnoxious hagiography and whitewash, I will confine myself to quoting Tony Daniels: "It is as if someone were to make a film about Adolf Hitler by portraying him as a vegetarian who loved animals and was against unemployment. This would be true, but rather beside the point." There is another movie coming out about Guevara, directed by Steven Soderbergh. We can guess at its contents by the publicity material: "He fought for the people." Sure he did. A prominent Cuban American recently lunched with a famous and powerful actor to discuss a movie that tells the truth about Guevara. The actor was entirely sympathetic, but said it simply could not be done—Hollywood would not permit it.

Beyond the occasional protest or boycott, there is some of that Guevara backlash: in the form of T-shirts, or counter-T-shirts, if you like. (Yes, anti-Communism is countercultural, in a sense.) One shirt shows Guevara with a diagonal line drawn through him and the words, "Commies Aren't Cool." Another has Guevara in crosshairs (violent—too Che-like). Still another has the statement—underneath the image—"I have no idea who this is"! A fourth shirt is an exercise in camp, festooning Guevara in rhinestones and calling him "Liberache" (linking him to the late, flamboyant pianist).

A far more serious shirt is purveyed by the Center for a Free Cuba, in Washington, D.C. It does many things, one of which is to put "Cuba Libre" in Guevara's hair, and another of which is to list Cuban political prisoners on the back, complete with the lengths of their sentences.

In France, the remarkable group Reporters Without Borders took an image well known in that country: that of a policeman wielding a truncheon and a shield. But it put Guevara's face in place of the policeman's and cried, "Welcome to Cuba, the world's biggest prison for journalists." A woman named Diane Díaz López objected: She is the daughter of "Korda," the late Cuban photographer who snapped the "iconic image" of Che. She seems to be a bitter-end Marxist. She took Reporters Without Borders to court, and won—they had to abandon that particular tactic.

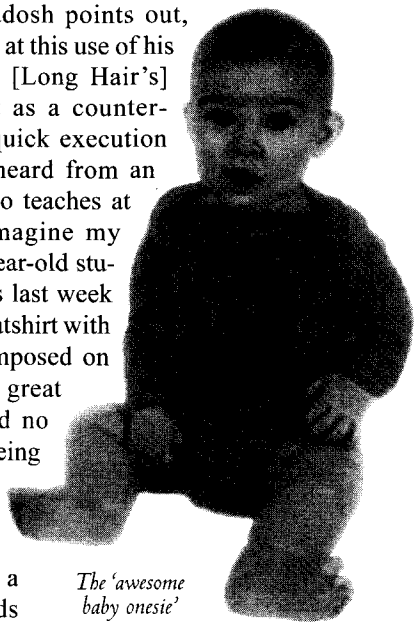
SADDENING AND MADDENING

There are some who will always have romantic feelings about Guevara, and the Cuban revolution. For this type, Guevara was a true man, not a namby-pamby liberal, but hardcore—pure in his willingness to do the necessary. An anti-Communist of my acquaintance asked a friend of his why she admired Guevara. She answered, "He never sold out." Frank Calzón, executive director of the Center for a Free Cuba, says, "Yes, Guevara was 'courageous' and 'committed.' So are many bank robbers." In the run-up to the Iraq War, I asked Bernard Kouchner—the great French humanitarian and politician—why so many of his countrymen seemed enthusiastic about Saddam Hussein. He said their enthusiasm for Saddam was akin to their attachment to Che: It was a way of expressing anti-Americanism (in brief), the facts about the two men aside.

But facts are not unimportant to Cuban Americans. Imagine being one of them and seeing celebratory images of Guevara all around you. Imagine—even further—being the son or daughter of someone whom Guevara personally executed. There are such people in the United States. Or imagine—further yet—being a Cuban political prisoner, and knowing that masses in free countries were wearing Che on their chests.

If you talk to Cuban Americans about how they feel, they will first mention Hitler and the Nazis: No one would sell or sport items celebrating those beasts; what's the difference, other than scale? Otto Reich is a Cuban American who has thought keenly about all this. He has been an official under the last three Republican presidents, and he was a refugee from the island; his father had been a refugee from Nazi Austria. Says Reich, "The first reaction [on seeing a piece of Che-wear] is revulsion. The second is more like pity, because these people have no idea what they're doing."

Ronald Radosh has written about a democracy activist in Hong Kong. In his innocence, this fellow—Leung Kwok-hung, nicknamed "Long Hair"—goes around in a Guevara T-shirt. As Radosh points out, Guevara would be appalled at this use of his image, and would "favor [Long Hair's] immediate imprisonment as a counter-revolutionary, if not his quick execution by firing squad." And I heard from an acquaintance in Japan, who teaches at an American school: "Imagine my shock when I saw a four-year-old student of mine come to class last week wearing a brand-name sweatshirt with that image of Che superimposed on an American flag. He's a great kid, and he obviously had no idea what it was, but just being in the same room as that shirt made me uneasy. Heck, just knowing the fact that that shirt exists in a size that fits four-year-olds



The 'awesome baby onesie'

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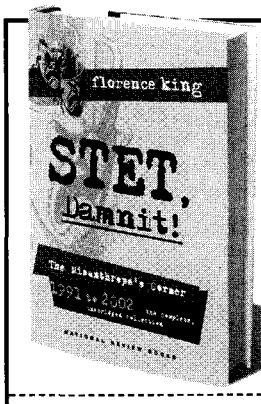
made me uneasy." Obviously, my acquaintance had never seen the onesie.

A final story: A few weeks ago, the *Hartford Courant* ran a photo of a Trinity College freshman who was protesting the execution of a serial killer. He carried a sign that said, "Why do we kill people who kill people to show that killing people is wrong?"—and he was wearing a Che Guevara hat! Talk about sending mixed messages.

Some people take comfort in the fact that Guevara, the Communist who wanted to destroy everything capitalist, has become a commodity. But that comfort is cold—because the unending glorification of this henchman is, yes, an offense to truth, reason, and justice. Think of those who might take his place on those shirts—for instance, Oscar Elías Biscet, one of Castro's longtime prisoners. He is a democrat, a physician—a true one—and an Afro-Cuban (for those who care). He has declared his heroes and models to be Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Not only does he deserve celebration, he could use the publicity—but nothing.

Part of the Guevara cult, no doubt, has to do with pulchritude (although I suppose Biscet is good-looking enough, despite years of sadistic abuse). More than one anti-Communist has lamented that Che's cheekbones have caused millions of hearts to flutter, and millions of consciences to crater. Tony Daniels quotes an awed British journalist who met Guevara at the Soviet embassy in Havana in 1963: "He was incredibly beautiful." Poor Stalin, so stumpy and pockmarked. He could have been a star.

Guevara has a little competition, however, in that some American celebrities have been seen with Subcomandante Marcos T-shirts. Who is Subcomandante Marcos? The Mexican Che, roughly, although it seems unlikely that he will ever overtake Guevara, whose perpetual exaltation is one of the most heartbreaking and infuriating phenomena of the modern age. **NR**



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■ **ESSAY II**

One Man's Marriage Trap

The ever-shifting, deeply conflicted Andrew Sullivan

JUSTIN KATZ

When Andrew Sullivan was seven or eight, the visceral yet distancing medium of television sparked a feeling about which many men will have corresponding stories. A shirtless actor elicited "such an intense longing" that young Andrew "determined to become a doctor" so he could "render the man unconscious and lie on top of him when no one else was in the room." Its furtive nature may distinguish this from the similar memories of others, but the bewildering indication of inchoate sexuality is familiar.

Years later, Sullivan volunteered to assist a stranger through the final months of life with AIDS. The scene presents an eerie echo: "I remember one day lying down on top of him to restrain him as his brittle, burning body shook uncontrollably with the convulsions of fever."

If Sullivan noticed the parallel between these moments—described in his books *Virtually Normal* and *Love Undetectable*, respectively—he hasn't said so, but their implications could fill another book. They portray a child's undefined desire for closeness, and the solitude of a man's deterioration; the vision of exploiting a doctor's power, and the reality of a nurse's powerlessness; an awakening to sexuality, and to solidarity.

Different people will derive conflicting lessons from these anecdotes, but this is often the case with Sullivan. He is unapologetically homosexual and has been, until recently, devoutly Catholic. His social sympathies are liberal, but he considers himself a conservative. He has written often for the *New York Times*, but he is a leading figure in a blogosphere that sees the *Times* as the establishment it opposes. Taken together, these qualities attract an interesting audience, and conservatives' criticism of Sullivan's opinions often begins with confessions of fandom or friendship. In particular, conservatives have generally appreciated his steadfast advocacy of a vigorous War on Terror. The niche that he has claimed, however, has made Sullivan an especially influential advocate of a cause with which many of them do not agree: same-sex marriage. In his various expositions of the case for same-sex marriage over the years, Sullivan has trapped himself in a series of opportunistic contradictions—which may tell us something about the contradiction at the heart of his cause.

Mr. Katz writes for the blogs dustinthelight.com and anchorrising.com.

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THE DANCE

Virtually Normal (1995) is Sullivan's unique perspective presented as a political argument. As a polemical feat, his strategy is brilliant, transforming the terms of the debate and providing a solid platform from which to volley objections. As an assessment of his opponents' thinking, however, it stumbles on its own cleverness.

The stumble is most obvious on the matter of religious opposition to homosexuality. Sullivan quotes St. Paul's most indisputable denunciation of it, Romans 1:27, but moves immediately to speculation about Paul's intent—speculation Sullivan fails to corroborate with any chapter or verse. In this account, homosexuality serves for Paul merely as "an analogy" for continued polytheism, an analogy Paul indulges in only because he "seems to assume that every individual's nature is heterosexual." In November 1994, in *The New Republic*, Sullivan called his own interpretation "so obvious an alternative . . . that it is hard to imagine the forces of avoidance that have kept it so firmly at bay for so long." In *Love Undetectable* (1998), he asserted that fear-driven "loathing" of homosexuals and Jews is "fanned . . . by the distortion of a particular strain in Christian theology." By August 2003, he was claiming that the Catholic Church's failure to accept his interpretation indicated a "war on gay people and their dignity."

This is not to deny that Sullivan can be genuinely insightful; but too often, his analysis of competing viewpoints is designed merely to generate elaborate debaters' points—to push opponents of same-sex marriage into a narrow pen, ruling certain lines of reasoning out of order. Similarly, Sullivan uses the old-media technique of loaded labeling to fence in conservatives. For example, because many evangelical Christians back the Federal Marriage Amendment, it is the "religious right amendment"—not a cause of respectable conservatives. When Senate majority leader Bill Frist expressed support for it in June 2003, Sullivan bewailed "how close to theocracy today's Republicans have become." The spark for the charge was one word: Frist had described marriage as a "sacrament."

Andrew Sullivan

ROMAN GENN

One smear that is ubiquitous in Sullivan's writing is "theocon." Theoconservatism, he explained in a 1998 *New York Times Magazine* cover piece, is "an orthodoxy . . . of cultural and moral revolution." (On the cover, a finger pointed over red letters: "The Scolds.") Sullivan noted the opposition of alleged theocon Fr. Richard John Neuhaus to what Neuhaus calls "secular monism." By this phrase, Neuhaus means the antithesis of true pluralism: In secular monism, a sacralized state claims to be the arbiter of truth, with no reference to or respect for the religious beliefs of its citizens. Sullivan makes "secular monism" seem less threatening, and Neuhaus more extreme, by redefining the phrase as merely "the secular neutrality of modern American law and government." That is a subdued phrasing indeed, from a man who blasts the FMA as "graffiti on a sacred document."

Sullivan confesses, in the afterword to *Virtually Normal*, that the book is "a profession of *faith* in liberal politics" (emphasis added). His essential dogma is "public neutrality and private difference." There is a problem, however, with his application of the dogma, because the "centerpiece" of Sullivan's proposal—marriage—is the basic interface between culture and politics: in other words, exactly where the private becomes public.

And Sullivan has had difficulty adhering to this strict bifurcation of public and private. When Sen. Rick Santorum uttered his infamous remarks about the erosion of morality-based laws should the Supreme Court declare a right to sodomy, Sullivan launched into a days-long excoriation. He dismissed Santorum's argument that a Court protection of sodomy would lead to bigamy and polygamy: Both of those, said Sullivan, involve marriage—about which a right to sodomy implies nothing. Two months later, however, reveling in the Court's *Lawrence* decision, Sullivan declared that the expansion of privacy rights "inescapably means the right to marry."

Clearly, Sullivan is not afraid to reverse position on *very* short notice. He has displayed a similar agility on the Full Faith and Credit Clause. In 1996, he wrote in the *Sunday Times* of London that "the punchline" of judicially imposed same-sex marriage in Hawaii was that "every state has to give 'full faith and credit' to the laws of every other state." When Congress debated the Defense of Marriage Act, meant to keep states from being forced to recognize other states' redefined marriages, Sullivan testified against the bill: It was up to the Supreme Court to decide whether states would be compelled to grant recognition. After the bill passed, Sullivan insisted that it was unconstitutional—which, he claimed in August 2003, "the social right knew at the time and still knows."

At other times, however, Sullivan argues that a constitutional amendment is unnecessary because of the very same Defense of Marriage Act. In July 2003, he said that the act had the power "to stop one state's marriages being nationalized." By November, he was declaring the suggestion that the courts might force one state to recognize another state's same-sex marriages "disingenuous." He wrote in February 2004 that if the courts were to strike down the act—if "one single civil marriage in Massachusetts is deemed valid in another state, without that other state's consent"—he would support a constitutional amendment to "say that no state is required to recognize a civil marriage from another state." His standard of "consent," however, is a tenuous barrier, given his view that state courts are qualified to offer it.

Periodically, this twirling of convenient views moves from frustrating to astonishing. In January, Stanley Kurtz published an argument against same-sex marriage based on an examination of family trends in Scandinavia, where social policy toward gays has long been especially permissive. "Did no one edit this?" Sullivan attacked, saying that Kurtz's analysis "would be laughed out of a freshman social science class." Simply, "the entire premise of the piece—that marriage for gays is legal in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden—is factually untrue."

Yet the previous June, when he thought that evidence from Denmark supported his case for same-sex marriage, Sullivan had written that Denmark's gay partnerships were "almost indistin-

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guishable from marriage." In his 1997 collection *Same-Sex Marriage: Pro and Con*, he noted that "different compromises" in Denmark and Sweden "affect the meaning of marriage itself." Throughout the intervening years, in multiple venues and contexts, he touted "de facto marriages." In August 2001, for example, he wrote that trends were hopeful during "the first six years in which gay marriage was legal in Denmark" (*Sunday Times*) and that the country provided "real data on the impact of gay marriage" (*The New Republic*).

A MESSY MARRIAGE OF CONCEPTS

When he thought empirical evidence in Scandinavia pointed his way, Sullivan conceded that the "importance of the family in society is indisputable." But his sexual politics do not ultimately emphasize benefits for society, but benefits *for homosexuals*. Any social difficulties that a redefinition of marriage would create he would leave to the "private sphere" to solve. No public norm can be imposed, because the status of "outsiderdom" must be "a cultural choice" not influenced by politics; homosexual identity must be free from "the hands of the other." (The lapse into postmodern-speak is telling.)

To conservatives, however, a large part of the purpose of marriage is precisely to discourage "outsiderdom" and to encourage citizens toward specific, society-sustaining identities. To Sullivan, in contrast, marriage is a mechanism to gain "personal integrity" and "dignity," to become "fully human." A major source of friction between these two approaches is the effect that the latter's understanding of marriage might have on the ability to achieve the goals of the former. In that respect, it is relevant what Sullivan considers the fundamental determinant of "full humanity" to be. In *Love Undetectable*, Sullivan raises the concept when discussing the act of sex. Sex, he writes, involves a loss of control and submergence of intellect, and to give those things up "even under the threat of death" would be "to give up being fully human." Similarly, in *Virtually Normal*, he argues that features of homosexual relationships "could nourish the broader society," because lesbians' "sexual expressiveness" and gay men's "solidity and space" are sometimes "lacking in more rote, heterosexual couplings." He speaks of "the openness of the contract," of "the need for extramarital outlets," of "flexibility." In response to critics' seizing on this passage as contemptuous of monogamy, Sullivan has asserted—and there's no reason to doubt—that he did not intend an endorsement of adultery. Affairs among married homosexuals, he clarifies in the paperback's afterword, should be "as anathema as" those among married heterosexuals. The lessons implied for heterosexuals "are not direct ones."

Bewilderment at this passage is understandable, but it distracts from what is truly problematic here. Sullivan seems to take for granted that heterosexuals are driven toward "timeless, necessary, procreative unity," whereas homosexuals must be given space beyond the "stifling model of heterosexual normality." He is even willing to place procreative marriages on a pedestal. In the spring of 2003, he proclaimed the "unique and miraculous . . . connection between male-female sex and the creation of new life," and asserted that this connection's alignment with "a marital structure . . . is obviously vital to defend." But at the heart of his cause is an effort to reorder that structure from within. In this regard, here's the truly disquieting statement: "The truth is, homosexuals are not entirely normal; and to flatten their varied and complicated lives into a single, moralistic model is to miss what is essential and exhilarating about their otherness." The truth that Sullivan evades is that flattening into a model is precisely marriage's social purpose—and furthermore, his arguments for same-sex marriage are in conflict with the desire he expresses in this passage to preserve homosexuality's "otherness."

After all, how can "otherness" be preserved if distinctions are effaced? Sullivan's writing overflows with appeals to equality untinted by distinctions, as when he rejects "the mealy-mouthed talk about civil unions as some sort of options for gay citizens." The exclusion of same-sex couples is indefensible when, he says (incorrectly), "the living, breathing reality of civil marriage in America" is coupling and nothing more. Just before Thanksgiving this year, he pushed his equality-based argument almost to the point of making the case for the FMA: "The basic problem for the anti-gay marriage forces is that they are upholding a marital standard for gays that no one any longer upholds for straights . . . Once it was obvious that this standard did not apply to heterosexuals, the [Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court] had *no choice* but to strike down the inequality . . . that's why you really do have to amend a state constitution to prevent its guarantees for equality from being applied to gay citizens" (emphasis Sullivan's).

Sullivan's prescription for addressing rampant sexual license is . . . legitimizing it.

Of course, Sullivan opposes amendments intended to prevent the law from locking in mere coupling as the open-ended definition of marriage. He's also quick to attack those who seek to bolster marriage's vital connections in other ways. In July 2001, for example, he expressed astonishment at Lawrence Kudlow's implicit support for adultery laws. "Give me an adulterer over an ayatollah any day," wrote Sullivan. He has lambasted "screw-tightening" fundamentalists for targeting divorce, fornication—the whole arsenal of practices subversive to marriage. Yet, in January 2004, he said of the same group that, when they "start proposing measures that would infringe on heterosexual abuse of marital privileges, I'll take them seriously." In short: If social conservatives target heterosexual as well as homosexual immorality, they are fanatics; if they don't, they are hypocrites.

In parallel debates among Catholics, Sullivan's prescription for addressing rampant sexual license is . . . legitimizing it. "Why can we not hold up marriage and committed loving relationships as the goal but not punish and stigmatize the non-conformists or those whose erotic needs and desires are more complex?" But it simply isn't clear how he thinks society should promote its supposed goal. In *Virtually Normal*, for example, he challenges the notion that it is better for a "waverer" to choose heterosexuality. And in a later argument with William Bennett, he asks what is

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"so bad, after all, [about] mutual objectification"?

Sullivan has written that many gay men value their sexual freedom, while many "yearn for anchors." In *The New Republic*, in August 2001, he cast his sympathy with the former, and in June 2002 admitted that he would be among "those who choose not to marry." This may be surprising, given his long advocacy of what he calls "marriage rights"; but in *Love Undetectable*, he describes sex itself as "almost a sacrament of human existence," and in February 2003 he said it's "one of the greatest and most exhilarating gifts our nature has given us." In fact, he wrote in March 2002, "reduction" of it to "pure, heterosexual, procreative sex" is "excessively strict, given the not-so-terrifying moral dangers of other forms."

So, in Sullivan's complex world of sacramental sex and moralistic marriage, what defines "full humanity"? Can it really be his position that men outside of legally recognized relationships are not "fully human"? Of course not; to him, it's possession of *choice* that defines humanity. For gays, therefore, to have "full humanity" is to have the same range of choices that straights have. Whether the extension of a particular choice to homosexuals is at odds with the fundamental reason the choice exists in the first place is, from that point of view, irrelevant.

Given Sullivan's leveling conception of equality, he can't wish for homosexuals to gain the choice of marriage without also wishing for heterosexuals to gain the choices that gays' freedom from procreation naturally grants them. In such a field of options, society would have no remaining leverage to push for marriage. Sure, it could grant material benefits on the basis of commitment. Yet, even if we believe that marriage stops expanding with the inclusion of homosexuals, even if we believe that the standard for monogamy slips no further, Sullivan's "conservative case" collapses: One cannot simultaneously want no choice to bear stigma while presenting one choice as an expectation.

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Sullivan has considered every strategy for nationalizing same-sex marriage—and he likes them all. To be sure, he has made it a talking point that time for persuasion is "the genius of a federal system," the "slow federal process [that he wants] to take place"; warnings of rapid change in the absence of a Federal Marriage Amendment are "scare tactics." He writes, "The flip-side of leaving Mississippi alone is that we should also leave Massachusetts alone. Deal?" He constantly attacks the Federal Marriage Amendment as an offense against federalism. But when, last February, Ramesh Ponnuru pressed him on the point, Sullivan clarified that while he believes in "winning over the public" and working "legislatively if at all possible," he would also support a Supreme Court finding that the Constitution demands legal recognition of same-sex marriage from coast to coast.

The judiciary, then, is a central component of his politics. In a December 2002 blog, he explained that "individual states should be able to decide for themselves" about marriage—in state courts, "where marriage questions rightly belong." In July 2003, he reflected in the *Sunday Times* that the courts were changing hands to "judges who reflect contemporary understanding." (Apparently, they do so better than the public's elected representatives.) After *Lawrence*, Sullivan confessed that he was happy that the ruling had gone far beyond "the narrowest possible grounds." *Goodridge* in Massachusetts convinced him "how impossible it is that any reasonable court" could deny gays marriage. For Sullivan, "democratic deliberation" must be a process whereby judges implement federal law; in the slow version, they do so state by state. Any movement to insist on actual votes indicates a "hysterical and polarizing campaign" and "unbounded paranoia with respect to courts."

To derail such campaigns, Sullivan has pioneered the usurpation of singularly inapt civil-rights imagery. The Catholic Church's opposition to fundamental changes to the institution of marriage is taken to be akin to its support of slavery in 1866—never mind that the documents Sullivan adduced as evidence of that support demonstrate no such thing. (They concern penal servitude and the like, not slavery.) Similarly, he will jab emotions rubbed bare by religious friction. In his piece about "The Scolds," Sullivan wrote that it was "perhaps unsurprising that, when Neuhaus gathered a group of public thinkers and ministers to endorse a statement" of their political position, "there were no Jews among the signers." Unsurprising, indeed, for a letter subtitled, "A Statement of Christian Conscience and Citizenship."

Even if the marriage episode concludes as Sullivan wishes, choices will still be beyond reach.

The charitable explanation is that Sullivan has gotten so caught up in his cause, so feels the tingle of proximate success, that he doesn't hear his conflicting arguments draining sympathy. Whatever the case, he long ago sank into naked advocacy; his work must now be approached like the material generated by a civil-action lawyer or a lobbyist. When President Bush announced support for a marriage amendment, Sullivan reacted violently: All people of goodwill would have to oppose the president. Sullivan has said that the "fair-minded center of the country that balks at . . . hatred and fear" would never stand for pandering to extremists. But the extremism on display in his writings is chiefly his own.

Andrew Sullivan seems, in short, to have an intellect in deep conflict with his emotions. His language practically glows with warmth when the next generation of gays appears in his writing. Yet he began *Virtually Normal* with this admission: "No homosexual child, surrounded overwhelmingly by heterosexuals, will feel at home in his sexual and emotional world, even in the most tolerant of cultures. . . . Anyone who believes political, social, or even cultural revolution will change this fundamentally is denying reality." Same-sex marriage took effect in Massachusetts on the anniversary of *Brown* v. *Board*, and Sullivan naturally drew the parallel. To him, same-sex marriage is a matter of gays' integration into their own families. But even if the marriage episode concludes as Sullivan wishes, choices will still be beyond reach, requiring redirected advocacy. There will always be something for which to long intensely on the other side of the glass. **NR**

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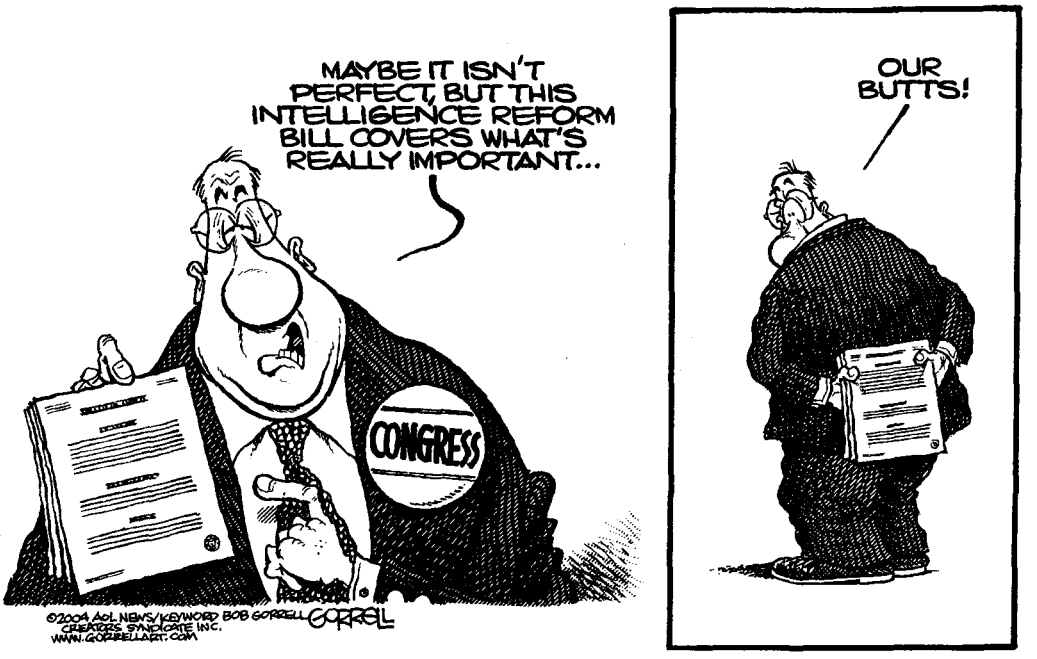

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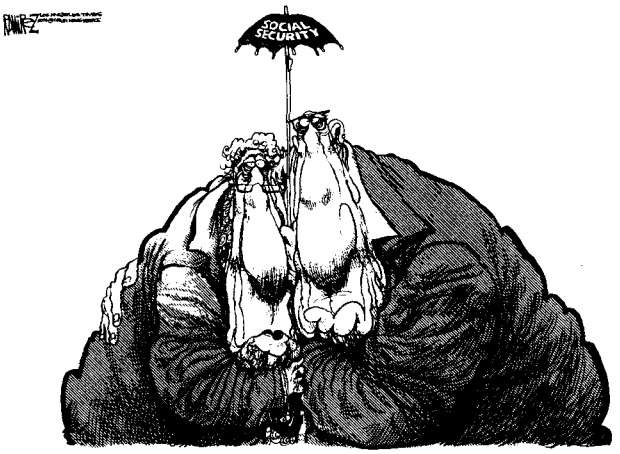
From Your Clairvoyant

Come February, Democrats,
Irascible as pregnant cats,
Board Hillary's trajectory,
With Ickes at the DNC
(It's in the stars). Then Dr. Dean
Again sheds normal Mr. Clean
For noisome Dr. Jekyll. Moore
Continues tracking Bush's spoor.

—W. H. von Dreele



"No, I didn't call for an appointment with a marriage counselor–it must have been air-head here."

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the long view

ROB LONG

TO: All faculty of the Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center (formerly known as Jackson County Middle School)
FROM: Vice Principal Edwards
IN RE: Seasonal Issues

Dear Faculty:

After lengthy consultations with members of local civil-rights groups, child psychologists, family counselors, and plaintiffs' representatives, we have decided on the following guidelines to celebrate the holiday seasons:

1. We will no longer "celebrate" the "holiday" "seasons," as currently defined. The concept of a "celebration" was deemed offensive and racist to some students and their families (see *Runningfeather et al.* v. *Jackson County School District*), who noted, with some historical justification, that to "celebrate" the "birth" of the "savior" is to, essentially, celebrate the instigation of the continental genocide of the indigenous peoples of what is now called "North America," but which we now at the FLHLRC designate in classroom maps and resource materials as "The Land of the Eagle Goddess" (see my memo "Guidelines for Understanding What We Used To Call Columbus Day" of last autumn for further clarification).

2. To that end, the formerly named "Jackson Holly-Daze Pageant" will now be called the "Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center Commemoration of the Season." Please instruct all students to take down the posters and signs that currently line the upper hall and that use the unapproved terminology and replace them with materials that reflect our new understanding. New poster and sign art can be developed and created during Cultural Discovery time—formerly known as "History" (please see my memo "Guidelines for Understanding the Negative Effect of Current History Instruction on Students of Color")—as a way to introduce students to next month's unit on "The Violence of Language: Rape, Denial, and Assault in the American Lexicon."

3. Discussions of god and faith are currently forbidden under the Jackson County School District consent decree. Please see my memo "Many Gods: Okay; One God: Rethink" on this subject, and be aware that all faculty are currently, as of this memo, NOT indemnified by the school district, or by the Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center, for violations of this court order.

4. The Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center Gay-Bi-Transgender Student Alliance has informed us, through their attorneys, that the current depiction and costuming of elves is unacceptable and offensive.

5. The Jackson County School District has issued district-wide guidelines for the description and/or discussion of "Santa Claus," the mythical creature that younger children believe delivers presents on what was formerly known as "Christmas" but that will now be known, as of this memo, as "Wintertide Reflection Day." In furtherance of our mission to educate and train young people to embrace the diversity that is Jackson County, a mythic god-creature that delivers presents only to the "good" and not to the "naughty" obviously poses some critical problems. If at all possible, in classroom discussions—particularly during the Denouncement of Wrong Thought Hour—it would be preferable to steer the conversation away from such notions as "What are you going to get on Wintertide Reflection Day?" and "What did you ask your parents for on Wintertide Reflection Day morning?" and instead guide students to an understanding of what Wintertide Reflection Day really means, and why Wintertide Reflection Day is part of our Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center tradition. (A memo addressing these questions is forthcoming.)

6. Please try to steer the children to an understanding of "Santa Claus," which many of them remain attached to for family and cultural reasons (see my memo "Guidelines for Rethinking the Family: A New Mission of the Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center" of last year at Vernal Equinox Reflectiontide, formerly Easter). Try to integrate Santa into the pan-cultural tradition of the "trickster god."

7. The formerly sung seasonal "carols"—be they of the Jewish or Christian tradition—are clearly off-limits. Try to restrict your students, either in Artistic Expression Period or even while absent-mindedly humming to themselves, to "Jingle Bells" or "Frosty, One of the Snow Gods." (Lyrics attached.)

8. Kwanzaa, which is awkwardly scheduled during our Wintertide Reflection Day Break, can be either integrated into Cultural Discovery units or treated as part of the larger unit on "Liars, Con Artists, and Fools: The American Dream as Nightmare," which is just concluding in some of the upper pods. Lower pods can address these issues next term.

9. It has come to my attention that in the previous item, I inadvertently described Kwanzaa, a traditionally African-American celebration of community cohesiveness and family strength, as "awkward." My choice of words was inappropriate, and I regret the lapse in judgment. In the rush and hustle and bustle of Wintertide Reflection Day preparations, I did not adequately reflect on my word choice, and for that I am truly sorry. I will be taking administrative leave beginning at the conclusion of this memo (please see my memo "Taking Administrative Leave: When Apologies Fail"). I have enjoyed my time at the Fannie Lou Hamer Learning Resource Center, and I wish you great success in the future. Happy Seasons!

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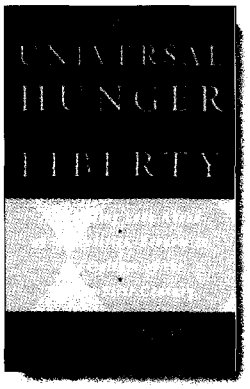
Manifesto of Hope



The Universal Hunger for Liberty: Why the Clash of Civilizations Is Not Inevitable, by Michael Novak (Basic, 281 pp., $26)

JOHN FONTE

MICHAEL NOVAK is one of American conservatism's leading voices in debates over culture, religion, and democracy at home and abroad. A longtime NATIONAL REVIEW contributor, he is a confidant of popes and presidents. Intellectually, he is an eloquent spokesman for what could be called the Catholic Whig position. His latest book, *The Universal Hunger for Liberty*, is a Whig vision for a 21st-century world civilization.

As a Whig, Novak puts his emphasis on human liberty as he presents an optimistic, yet realistic, analysis of future possibilities. Ever the trinitarian, he sketches out a vision of "Caritapolis," a benign view of globalization in which the Whig virtues of political liberty and economic growth are underpinned by a third virtue: the moral-cultural sensibility informed by religion, particularly Christianity and Judaism. While "many intellectuals look at the world in purely secular terms," this secularism, Novak tells us, is "too thin an interpretation of human life" upon which to structure a universal civilization that is credible to the world's 6 billion people, most of whom are religious.

The Islamic question is at the center of this book: Can Islam come to terms with democracy? Novak answers with guarded optimism. He implicitly rejects the Turkish solution—the coercive secularist model of Ataturk—which, like the shah's reforms and the Arab Socialism of Nasser, has proved to be ultimately unsatisfying to large numbers of Muslims. The choice, Novak insists, is not simply between "the Ayatollah Khomeini and Salman Rushdie." Sudanese resistance fighters battling the oppressive radical Islamist regime of Khartoum told Novak, "We are serious Muslims . . . please help find us a Muslim theory that embraces the best of the modern world, including democracy."

While radical Islamism is anti-democratic and at war with the West, Novak sees "other intellectual resources burning deeply in the bosom of Islam [that] may lead to a Muslim defense of several ideas crucial to democracy." These include "the dignity of the individual, consultative government attuned to the common good, religious liberty, and the fundamental equality of all human beings before God." Novak notes that "Bernard Lewis himself" points to elements in Islamic tradition that "assist" the "development of one or another form of democracy." He also cites the work of younger Muslim scholars, including Khaled Abou El Fadl of Yale University and the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, as offering hope.

Novak believes that whether most Islamic societies eventually embrace political democracy and market economics depends not upon their secularization (which has and will continue to fail) but upon whether Muslim scholars can find the intellectual, moral, and practical possibilities of democratic life and economic growth within the Islamic tradition. Novak notes that Catholicism, indifferent or hostile to liberalism (the animosity was mutual) and democracy until well into the 20th century, underwent just such an intellectual and moral reexamination. Himself a major participant in the development of Catholic democratic thought, Novak devotes a section of the book to analyzing the current work of the Pontifical Academy of the Social Sciences, including that contributed by some other prominent American conservative intellectuals such as Mary Ann Glendon and Jean Bethke Elshtain. He also argues, at one point in the book, that Catholicism itself may have the best intellectual tools "to defend the presuppositions of democracy."

The Catholic Church, Novak states, is also starting to make its peace with capitalism. With limpid prose Novak makes the case that the greatest hope of the world's poor to break the chains of poverty is free-market capitalism. He cites the successes of Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Ireland, and Chile. Novak calls for a worldwide Catholic "Initiative for the Poor." What is needed, he says, are practical proposals such as the development of teaching guides and seminars offering technical support for "local elites and the poor alike." The author recalls the plaintive words of a priest in Nigeria begging him to "set down" some practical criteria to fight poverty through economic growth.

Novak declares that it is time for a "blue" environmentalism to replace the "green" environmentalism that began in the 1970s and had great successes, but was sometimes "contaminated" with "eco-socialism." Blue environmentalism is realistic and not opposed to economic growth: It holds that nature exists for man and not vice versa. Blue environmentalism "takes seriously the obligation to help the poor" escape from poverty by promoting markets and liberty, as well as the obligation to deal responsibly with our natural habitat. Novak characterizes "blue" as the "color of liberty, personal initiative, and enterprise" as contrasted not only with "green," but explicitly with "red"—the traditional color of the Left and socialism. One suspects that the astute Michael Novak is having fun by reversing our contemporary (and misleading) "red-blue" political dichotomy and returning it to its traditional meaning.

Along with Augustine, Alexis de Tocqueville is a figure to whom the author

Mr. Fonte is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

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A ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME EXPERIENCE

British Isles Cruise

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DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SUN/July 10	Dover (from London)		6:00 PM	
MON/July 11	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
TUES/July 12	Waterford	8:00AM	6:00PM	
WED/July 13	Dublin	8:00AM	6:00PM	late-night H. Upmann smoker
THURS/July 14	Liverpool	7:00AM	8:00PM	evening cocktail reception
FRI/July 15	Belfast	8:00AM	10:00PM	
SAT/July 16	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
SUN/July 17	Edinburgh	8:00AM		overnight
MON/July 18	Edinburgh		6:00PM	
TUES/July 19	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars late-night H. Upmann smoker
WED/July 20	St. Peter Port	8:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/July 21	Dover	7:00AM		

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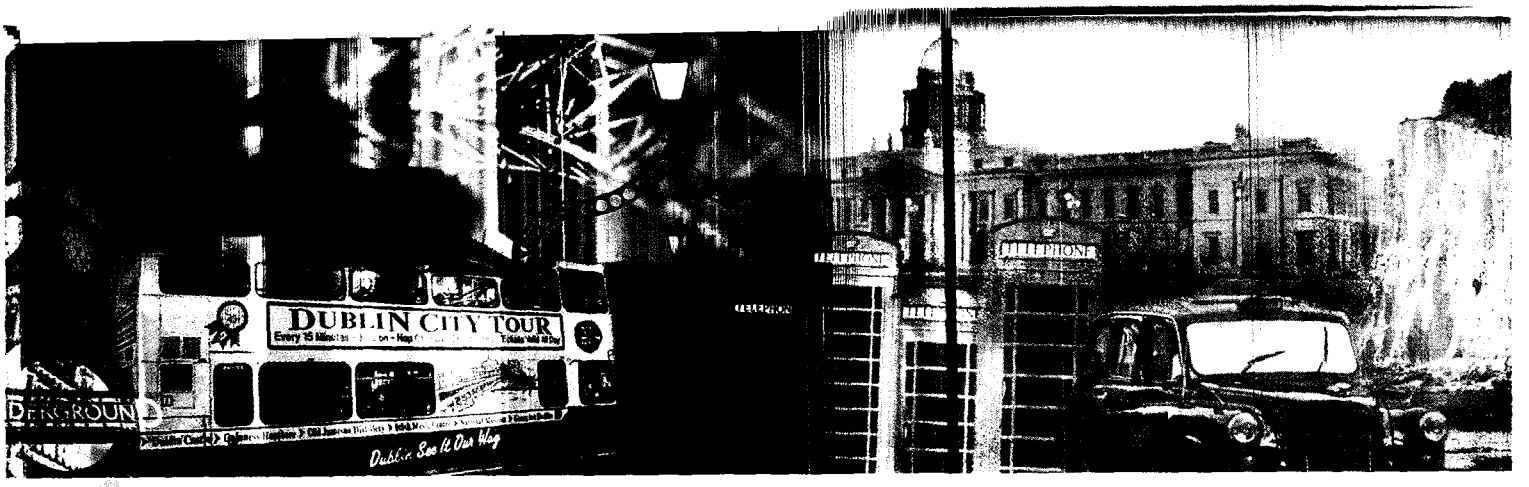

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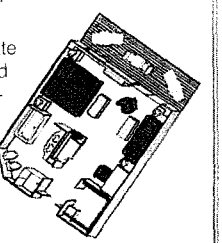

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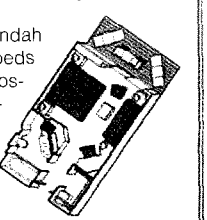
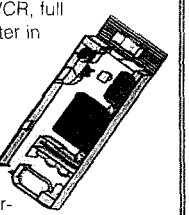
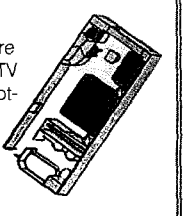
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 27,999



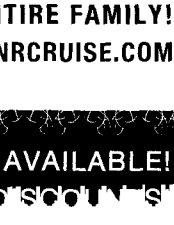
PENTHOUSE Spacious stateroom (367 square feet) features large private verandah and sizeable living area, personal butler service, remote color TV/VCR, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, full Jacuzzi bathtub, separate shower, walk-in closet, refrigerator, complimentary wine plus choice of liquor upon embarkation, complimentary soft drink, beer, and bottled water in cabin. Penthouse Deck.
Category PH
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 16,799



VERANDAH STATEROOM Large cabin (246 square feet) features private verandah, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Horizon Deck.
Category B
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 8,999



DELUXE STATEROOM Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window with sweeping views, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Promenade Deck.
Category C
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,999



DELUXE STATEROOM Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks/bottled water in cabin. Window views limited/obstructed. Promenade Deck.
Category E
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

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The National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #1 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Name #2 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #2 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Name #3 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #3 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Street Mailing Address

City | State | ZIP

( ) Daytime Phone

Email address

Payment

A deposit of $2,000 **per cabin** is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 4/8/05 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/14/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ $2,000 **per cabin** deposit is included (checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

Card #

Expiration Date (Month) _____ (Year) _____

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to February 8, 2005 you will be charged $75 per person.* FROM *February 8–April 8, you will be charged $500 per person.* AFTER *April 8 the penalty is 100% of cruise/package.*

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.) **PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!**

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

If we cannot arrange a roommate or if a roommate cancels, single rates will apply.

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☐ Yes, Crystal Society # _____

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from London/Dover.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

Class of Service: ☐ Coach ☐ Business Class

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport/train to the ship at $75 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

DINING: I wish to dine with _____

Frequency: ☐ Every Night ☐ 3-4 nights ☐ Just once

Please note that there is no smoking permitted in the Crystal Symphony *dining room.*

DINNER: ☐ 8:00PM ☐ 6:00PM (this conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

SPECIAL EVENTS/MEDICAL ISSUES: Are there any special events or medical situations we should know about? _____

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of your flight and the *Crystal Symphony.*

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of *National Review*, as agency for Crystal Cruises (CCL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, acts of terrorism, acts of war, declared or undeclared, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, acts of war declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by CCL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of CCL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, acts of war, declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor *NR* shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL TO/FROM LONDON: Crystal Cruise's "Fly Cruise" Program lets you simplify your air travel arrangements, offering convenient and affordable round-trip Coach and Business-Class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class)—including all baggage and transfers to/from the *Crystal Symphony*—from the following home "gateway" cities (rates are per-person):

City	Coach	Business
Albany, NY	1409	3649
Albuquerque, NM	1199	4199
Amarillo,TX	1179	3979
Anchorage, AK	1299	4499
Atlanta, GA	1089	3689
Austin, TX	1109	3909
Baltimore, MD	999	3599
Billings, MT	1119	4119
Birmingham, AL	1049	3849
Boise, ID	1119	4119
Boston, MA	929	3529
Bozeman, MT	1119	4119
Buffalo, NY	1029	3629
Charleston, SC	1029	3629
Charlotte, NC	1029	3629
Chicago, IL	1059	3859
Cincinnati, OH	989	3789
Cleveland. OH	1029	3829
Col. Springs, CO	1119	3999
Columbus, OH	1029	3829
Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	1059	3859
Denver, CO	1149	3949
Des Moines, IA	1049	3849
Detroit, MI	1109	3909
El Paso, TX	1099	3899
Fresno, CA	1109	4109
Ft. Lauderdale, FL	999	3599
Ft. Myers, FL	1049	3649
Greensboro, NC	1099	3699
Greenville-Spar., SC	1099	3699
Hartford, CT	1049	3649
Honolulu, HI	1449	4649
Houston, TX	1059	3859
Huntsville, AL	1059	3859
Indianapolis, IN	1079	3879
Jackson, MS	1199	3999
Jacksonville, FL	1059	3659
Kansas City, MO	1049	3849
Knoxville, TN	1029	3829
Las Vegas, NV	1049	4049
Little Rock, AR	1149	3949
Los Angeles, CA	1049	4049
Louisville, KY	1029	3829
Lubbock, TX	1179	3979
McAllen, TX	1189	3989
Memphis, TN	1099	3899
Miami, FL	1029	3629
Midland/Odessa, TX	1189	3989
Milwaukee, WI	1099	3899
Minn./St. Paul, MN	1039	3839
Mobile, AL	1119	3919
Nashville, TN	1099	3899
New Orleans, LA	999	3799
New York, NY (JFK)	879	3479
Newark, NJ	879	3479
Norfolk, VA	1029	3629
Oklahoma City, OK	1099	3899
Omaha, NE	1099	3899
Orlando, FL	1049	3649
Pensacola, FL	1159	3759
Philadelphia, PA	979	3579
Phoenix, AZ	1139	4139
Pittsburgh, PA	979	3579
Portland, OR	1039	4039
Raleigh/Durham, NC	1029	3629
Reno, NV	1099	4099
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Sacramento, CA	1149	4149
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San Antonio, TX	1149	3949
San Diego, CA	1029	4029
San Francisco, CA	1099	4099
Savannah, GA	1029	3629
Seattle/Tacoma, WA	1139	4139
Shreveport, LA	1139	3939
Spokane, WA	1099	4099
St. Louis, MO	999	3799
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Tampa, FL	1049	3649
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Tulsa, OK	1099	3899
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Wichita, KS	1159	3959
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Winnipeg	1099	4099
Calgary	1099	4099
Toronto	979	3579

IMPORTANT NOTES: **1.** These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. **2.** All U.S. and Canadian flights will depart on July 9, 2005 for an overnight flight. **3.** Business Class air applies only to the trans-Atlantic leg of the trip. Domestic legs will be coach class. **4.** Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that the transfer from the London area airports (Gatwick or Heathrow) or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* (Dover, England) are not included, but are available for purchase at $75 pp. Note that it is approximately a 2.5 hour transfer from the airports or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* in Dover. Return flights from London should not be arranged before 2:00PM on July 21, 2005. Retrun flights from the ship to airports or hotel may be purchased on board at $75 pp. **5.** Should you purchase the air from Crystal Cruise as described above, and wish to deviate from the air schedule desingated by Crystal Cruises, there is no charge for changes made prior to April 8, 2005. After that date, a *non-refundable charge* of $50 pp will be incurred for this service. All requests for air deviations must be made in writing to The Cruise Authority. **6.** Every effort will be made to assign the best seating possible, however any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure.

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returns throughout the book. Novak endorses Tocqueville's claim that the first political institution of American democracy is religion (meaning specifically Christianity and Judaism). Although seemingly counterintuitive for secular intellectuals, Novak argues, this claim is true in the most basic sense. First, he notes the empirical evidence: On any given weekend, more Americans attend religious services than watch football on television both Saturday and Sunday together; five times more Americans go to church each week than go to movies; a higher proportion of Americans go to church today than in 1776; and "the religious factor is highly potent in American electoral politics, some would say it is the single most important factor."

Philosophically, he declares that the essential beliefs of American democracy in human dignity, equality, and liberty would not have taken shape without prior belief in the religion of the Hebrew and Christian Bible. Thus, democracy in America "owes an enormous debt to Jewish and Christian faith." Moreover, "biblical faith provides to reason practical fixed ideas (moral laws) that only very few philosophers—and they only uncertainly—can reach for themselves." In America—unlike Europe—faith and reason, Jerusalem and Athens, Tocqueville's "spirit of religion" and "spirit of freedom" are not adversaries, but, in the Frenchman's words, "companions" in the maintenance of ordered liberty (as opposed to license).

Novak declares that at the center of the premises that undergird democracy is the regulative ideal of truth. Without the ideal of truth or the existence of an objective moral order independent of human will (whether based on religion or some form of natural law), there is no standard by which to judge right and wrong—and thus, only will and power remain. The so-called "critical thinking" theories in our law schools, which analyze all issues in terms of "power and interest rather than their relation to truth," clear the way "for a regime that exercises naked power." Indeed, this is what happened in the 1920s when anti-rational "theories of the absurd" served the "Fascist exaltation of power."

On the underpinnings of American democracy Novak agrees with the Founding Fathers and Tocqueville that religion is an "indispensable" support of this republic. He disagrees with Supreme Court justice Anthony Kennedy's declaration in the *Casey* decision that "at the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life." Kennedy's principle, Novak tells us, "throws every person into a region of lawlessness and personal arbitrariness. Its commandment is: do as you please." The "destructive" logic of the Supreme Court decisions in *Casey*, *Sullivan*, and *Lawrence* demands the conclusion that "right and wrong are whatever we desire them to be." The subtext of Kennedy's reasoning is that there is no objective moral order, that the most important questions of life are defined by will, and thus, by power in some form (majoritarian-populist, or judicial-activist-elitist).

Novak's book provides powerful insights into the interplay of religion, economics, culture, and democracy in the globalizing world of the 21st century. At the same time he implicitly defends and clarifies a principled American conservatism that does not simply adjust to the latest trends in the zeitgeist, or parrot theories of expressive individualism or states' rights on core-values issues such as the definition of marriage, but stands forthrightly for an objective moral order in the tradition of the Founders and Lincoln.

Throughout the book, Novak examines various challenges to liberal democracy and the erosion of democratic mores and institutions within existing democratic states. However, one emerging threat to constitutional democracy is missing. I call this challenge "post-democracy." It is the growing power and influence of transnational progressive elites (many of them American) who seek to limit the democratic sovereignty (i.e., the self-government) of the United States and the democratic sovereignty of some of our friends, including Israel, Britain, and Australia. The transnational progressives would use global institutions such as the U.N., the EU, and the International Criminal Court and seemingly benign concepts such as international law and human rights to limit American self-government and the self-government of other liberal-democratic nation-states. This global challenge to "government by consent of the governed" has been amply documented in recent years by, among others, Jeremy Rabkin, John Bolton, John O'Sullivan, and Robert Bork, as well as by Margaret Thatcher and Vaclav Klaus. It is time to take it seriously. Perhaps the subject of a future book by the prolific Michael Novak? **NR**

NEW YEAR'S

Let other mornings honor the miraculous.
Eternity has festivals enough.
This is the feast of our mortality,
The most mundane and human holiday.

On other days we misinterpret time,
Pretending that we live the present moment.
But can this blur, this smudgy in-between,
This tiny fissure where the future drips

Into the past, this fly-speck we call *now*
Be our true habitat? The present is
The leaky palm of water that we skim
From the swift, silent river slipping by.

The new year always brings us what we want
Simply by bringing us along—to see
A calendar with every day uncrossed,
A field of snow without a single footprint.

—DANA GIOIA

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Love, Pain & Lyricism

The Word that Causes Death's Defeat, by Anna Akhmatova, translated by Nancy K. Anderson (Yale, 352 pp., $30)

JEFFREY HART

In the white fields I became a quiet girl,
With the voice of a bird I cry out for love.
—Akhmatova

EVEN though the greatest lyric poets cannot be translated—imagine trying to translate Keats into Russian, let alone Chinese—Anna Akhmatova should be known at least biographically and thematically to everyone interested in literature, and here scholar Nancy K. Anderson has done a superb job. Akhmatova—I take this somewhat on faith—is one of the great lyric poets of the 20th century, and in the company of Yeats, Eliot, and Borges. Her lyrics are about love, remorse, disappointment, Russian history, and the Orthodox Church, and they attempt to keep vital the Russian culture that existed before the deluge in 1917.

I will attempt, however sketchily, to convey here something of her extraordinary life. Born Anna Gorenko into an upper-class family in 1889, she was precocious emotionally and as a poet. Because publishing poetry under the family name was out of the question, she took the name of a supposed maternal ancestor, Khan Akhmat, a Tartar chieftain assassinated in 1448. She soon became a sensation in the literary world of St. Petersburg, still recognizable as Dostoyevsky's city. She read her work in the Stray Dog café, a haunt of poets, novelists, painters, and musicians. She was austerely beautiful, tall, thin, and elegant with long black hair and a sculptured face of Tartar/Asiatic cast.

Her emotional life was tumultuous. In 1910 she married the symbolist poet Nikolay Gumilyov, apparently worn down by his importunities and his attempted suicide after she informed him she was no longer a virgin (though he himself continued his many involvements). His advice was valuable for her poetry, and she made the most of his long absences on trips abroad—as when Gumilyov left her in Paris in May 1911, where she idyllically did Paris-in-the-spring with the then-unknown painter Amedeo Modigliani. They strolled in the Bois and recited Verlaine, went to the Montmartre cafés and theaters, visited the Louvre. Once, finding him not at home, she threw a bouquet of roses through the open window of his studio. He made some charming line drawings of her posed as a nude model.

Then came the horrors of 20th-century Russian history, to which her poetry responds, often using the bleak but loved/sacred Russian landscape as metaphor expressing emotion. Though Stalin seems to have genuinely liked her poetry, she was often out of favor because of her equally uncontainable friends, including Boris Pasternak. Her worst period politically came after two historic mid-1940s meetings with Isaiah Berlin in her Leningrad apartment. These visits figure in her major long poem, translated here, "Poem Without a Hero": The "guest from the future" appears in mirrors as a lost lover might but does/does not exist:

> It is not for him to be my espoused,
> But what we together will bring about
> Will trouble the Twentieth Century . . .
> But not the first lilacs of the spring,
> Nor love's sweet prayers, nor yet a ring—
> It's doom he'll come bearing me that night.

And:

> He will come to me in the Fountain Palace [her apartment building] . . .
> But it's not the first branch of lilac,
> Not a ring, not the sweetness of prayers—
> It is death that he bears.

Isaiah Berlin, fluent in Russian and attached to the British Embassy, first looked her up in her Leningrad apartment in the fall of 1945, this short afternoon visit interrupted by Randolph Churchill, possibly drunk, yelling for Berlin from the courtyard below. Despite this untoward incident, Berlin visited her again in January 1946: They talked and talked into the small hours of the morning about literature in several languages, passionate and luminous conversation. Berlin did not know what he was walking into that night in Leningrad, and never did, judging by his 1980 account (reprinted in the 1998 collection *The Proper Study of Mankind*). Akhmatova, parched with cultural thirst, absorbed every detail he could bring her from the outside world about literature and culture. No longer young, she was beautiful now in a different way, her Tartar bone structure—high cheekbones and aristocratic nose—making her look in profile like the face carved on a coin. She was, wrote Berlin, "proud, unhappy . . . [speaking] in a calm even voice, at times in words of moving eloquence." In some way, more than symbolic, she thought she *was* Russia, and in a sense indeed she was, a regal unrowned empress, exiled in Russia from her Russia, a portrait of the young Akhmatova by Modigliani on her wall. That night Berlin was an ambassador from civilization. Nancy Anderson instructs us that the noun "poetry" in Russian is feminine, and so "Poem Without a Hero" must be referred to as "she," or perhaps "Akhmatova." Berlin

Sketch of Akhmatova by Modigliani, 1911

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must be the absent lover-like image in the mirror, the one who did not arrive. There are no hints in Berlin's account that he sensed that this to-her-epochal evening-morning encounter might have developed in a romantic direction, but the atmosphere had plenty of voltage.

The Guest from the Future instead arrived as Stalin. The NKVD had noticed the Randolph Churchill buffoonery, and reported it to Stalin. He commented, "This means our nun is receiving foreign spies." She was expelled from the Writers Union, denounced as half-nun, half-harlot; her works could not be published and her rations were cut. To her, the Berlin meeting began the Cold War: "It's doom he came bearing me that night."

Not until Khrushchev's thaw did she emerge again, receiving proper recognition, including an honorary degree at Oxford in 1965. She died on March 5, 1966. The funeral Mass at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Leningrad was attended by artists and other dignitaries from all over Russia. **NR**

In Greeneland

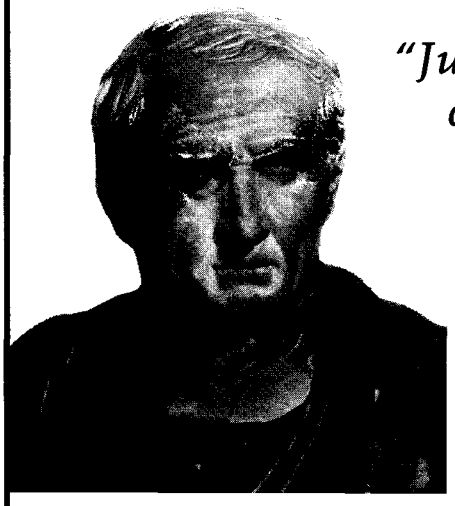
The Life of Graham Greene: Volume III, 1955-1991, by Norman Sherry (Viking, 906 pp., $39.95)

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

One day in 1948, in a gray and dreary postwar London, Evelyn Waugh stumbled upon Graham Greene at midday Mass. They were the most distinguished and thriving novelists of their generation in England, yet Greene was "shambling, unshaven," and, Waugh recalled, "quite penniless," a peculiar posture for a man whose books had made him rich. Afterwards, Waugh stood Greene a drink at the Ritz, and cracked the mystery of his friend's unexpected penury: "He had suddenly been moved by love of Africa and emptied his pockets into the box for African missions." Waugh's charity that day was uncharacteristic. Greene's was not.

Greene's life was as arresting and rattled as that of any character in the dark, subaqueous world of his fiction. We could say the same of other novelists, of course, but Greene stands out for, among other literary gifts, the sheer staying power of his production. Other writers might have worked harder, none worked more steadily; few had more to show for their efforts, year after year. He wrote thrillers for thinkers. When he died at age 86 in 1991, he had been writing and publishing for almost 70 years, and he had almost 30 novels, several short-story and essay collections, and eight plays to show for his pains. And what pains they were.

Mr. Simmons is the author of *Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin* and director of the Dow Journalism Program at Hillsdale College.



"Justice, the skill to treat with consideration and wisdom those with whom we are associated."

— Marcus Tullius Cicero
De Officiis

"The College made me a far better Catholic, far better citizen, far better attorney and a far better husband and father. My four years at the College were absolutely fabulous—there's no other school like it anywhere."

—William Howard
Principal Legal Advisor for the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency, Department of Homeland Security • Class of 1977

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This was the most paradoxical man of 20th-century literature. When we call up the idea of the Catholic novelist, we're as likely to think of Greene as of any other author, and his revelatory, psychologically probing work was doubtless responsible for many a conversion. The fields of moral battle were his home turf, and he showed us how both profound and dodgy our choices can be, particularly in an either/or universe of Good and Evil where those choices would seem, according to the catechism, perfectly clear. He created some of the most memorable characters of the last century. Together, the "whisky priest" of *The Power and the Glory* and Scobie of *The Heart of the Matter* alone possess an almost biblical power to mesmerize and instruct. They are most of us—were most of us to find ourselves *in extremis*. Yet this was also the novelist of moral struggle who rejected, openly if not quite publicly, conventional codes of moral behavior. He could blithely keep a series of mistresses while exercising the scruples not to divorce his wife, with whom he hadn't lived in over 40 years and whom he faithfully supported to the end. And his forays into political thinking were freakish. Such a man isn't easily figured out.

Nonetheless, Norman Sherry spent almost 30 years trying to do so. Making Greene's acquaintance in the mid-1970s on the strength of critical work he'd done on Conrad, Sherry gained his subject's elusive trust and became his authorized biographer. The first exhaustive volume (1989) took us from Greene's birth in 1904, through his anxious adolescence beset by first thoughts of suicide, Oxford, a rash marriage, his conversion to Catholicism through the instruction of a Father Trollope—a nice literary touch that—his first abortive publishing efforts, apprentice jobs as a sub-editor, modest success as a critic, and then on to his first works of fiction, from *The Man Within* to *Brighton Rock*, and clandestine days as a spy for MI6. The second (1994) chronicled the 15 most active and successful years during which he wrote the books for which he's best remembered today. Now the trek ends with a third installment that sees Greene through his last 36 years, which, while filled with well-deserved honors—and this too was a fecund period, with books like *Our Man in Havana*, *The Comedians*, *A Burnt-Out Case*, *The Honorary Consul*, *The Human Factor*, and *Monsignor Quixote*—still found him a deeply, preternaturally unhappy man. The grave in Switzerland comes as a distinct relief, both to the reader and, we suspect, to Greene himself.

Sherry decided early on not to play the armchair biographer. He resolved to retrace Greene's footsteps to all the far-flung hot, dry, and jungly places he had traveled during his restless life, and of course that meant lots of bug spray. What came of it is a remarkable feat. Sherry, despite the enormous and diffuse amount of material he puts into play, moves at a brisk clip. He also keeps this biography from reading like the mere travelogue it would have become in the hands of lesser writers. His account conveys a sense of the arduous, aching strain that Greene's journeys entailed. We learn that he paid dearly for his story ideas.

Sherry began the second volume with a note on the method forming the entire opus. "Whilst recognizing that Greene still has that splinter of ice in the heart, remaining elusive, aloof, and inaccessible, I am seeking . . . to move from his public reputation to an understanding of his inner vulnerabilities." And therein lie the good and the bad. Sherry makes liberal use of letters and other private writings to spook his way through Greene's life, and the light he has thrown on this secretive man is stupendously bright. But in doing so he makes a few discoveries that might profitably have been left undiscovered, or at least unrecorded. Not only did Greene take mistresses—this is well known, and most of them, like Lady Catherine Walston and Yvonne Cloetta, were impressive women—he also scampered about from time to time with prostitutes. These episodes make for sordid reading, but as Greene himself committed some of this information to paper, we might conclude that the outer life wasn't the lowest world he moved in; his inner life was always darker.

But it's with the "vulnerabilities" that I believe Sherry becomes excessive to the point of gratuitousness. Sherry might have wanted to strike a balance between the public and private man, but there's too much of the private here. Sherry also chimes on his themes unnecessarily. Greene might have had, as Sherry says, a "formidable desire for self-annihilation," but this observation, once registered, is set. We needn't dwell on it. The story is documented fastidiously and I cannot cite any lack of care in marshaling evidence. But the narrative does involve us in speculations—did Greene ever have a homosexual streak?—on which we lack the perspective to judge. Meanwhile, of course, the seeds of suspicion have been sown, and that's how such unearthing, even when done responsibly and delicately, can lead to gossip and innuendo.

Yet we may doubt neither Sherry's knowledge nor his love for the man who became his mentor. Indeed, throughout the 1980s, Sherry looms ever larger as a character in the story as he takes on the role of one more friend and correspondent, an effect we might liken at times to a painter who's inserted himself into his own painting. His friendship might have compromised his ability to judge Greene dispassionately, but I don't think it does. The judgments he does pass seem more rounded, better clued, because of it. Most of all, we mustn't doubt the monumentality of this achievement, almost three decades in the making. This is a labor worthy of its subject.

Greene's private troubles were real and no doubt severe, and surely they affected everyone around him, as well as his work. They are therefore grist for the biographer's mill. Still, this was also a generous man, slipping money to those in need and getting away before he could be identified or thanked. He did this for the truly poor and even for novice writers waiting for their breaks. Perhaps what Greene suffered from most acutely was a surfeit of sympathy.

But the Greene we should care most about—and to whom most of us should confine ourselves—is the Greene he set before us publicly. This was the man who spun some of the finest yarns of our time. This was the craftsman, the professional's professional, a man who, regardless of the demons flitting through his mind and soul, went to work every day, not waiting for inspiration, and exercised the courage to illumine the darkness within. This was the man who could see past the obvious and the pat, beyond the most stubbornly held ideas, and remind us that "the greatest saints have been men with more than normal capacity for evil, and the most vicious men have sometimes narrowly evaded sanctity." **NR**

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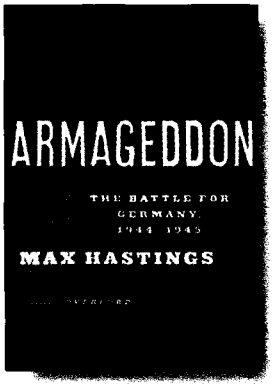
The Truth About War



Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944-1945, by Max Hastings (Knopf, 584 pp., $30)

JOHN WILSON

SOME bold genius of the cinema—a director with Oliver Stone-sized ambitions minus Stone's trashy ideas—needs to make a movie based on Max Hastings's *Armageddon*. And should that improbable but keenly desirable project ever be realized, the film absolutely must include a scene that comes near the very end of Hastings's narrative, after General Erich von Straube has surrendered his forces in Holland to the First Canadian Army. Von Straube is taken back to German lines by a Canadian counterpart, Brigadier James Roberts. So we are to imagine them onscreen, the German general sitting erect and tight-lipped:

> After driving for some twenty minutes in silence, von Straube's aide tapped Roberts on the shoulder and said that his commander wished to know what the brigadier had done before the war: "Were you a professional soldier?" Roberts was momentarily bemused by the question. He had been a soldier for so long that his other life seemed impossibly remote. Then he realized that the German was seeking some crumb of solace for his defeat. He answered von Straube: "No, I wasn't a regular soldier. Very few Canadians were. In civilian life I made ice cream."

Mr. Wilson is the editor of *Books & Culture*, a bimonthly review.

By the time the reader comes to this exchange, on page 498 of a book packed with incident, the seemingly trivial question and its answer are luminous with meaning. Behind von Straube's words is the professionalism that allowed Germany to fight on with astonishing effectiveness against impossible odds—and the perverse, obdurate pride that led the German officer class to prolong the war at a staggering cost to their own people. And behind Roberts's reply are the values the Western Allies were fighting for, the blessed ordinariness of peace—and the unfittedness for all-out war that made them excessively cautious, even when they clearly had the upper hand.

At the beginning of September 1944, Hastings notes, three months after D-Day, the consensus in Washington and London (Churchill notably dissenting) was that the war in Europe would be over by the end of the year. Caught between the Allied push in the west and the relentless Soviet advance from the east, Germany was clearly in a hopeless position. How much longer would the Germans fight with nothing to gain, no expectation of ultimate victory? Yet even by the end of that September, many in the Allied command were reluctantly beginning to recognize that their optimism had been unfounded. The last stage of the European war dragged on into May 1945. It included some of the bloodiest fighting in the entire conflict and took a fearsome toll in civilian lives.

At the heart of *Armageddon* is a summing up that exemplifies Hastings's moral realism.

In *Armageddon*, a sequel of sorts to his acclaimed book *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy, 1944*, published 20 years ago, Hastings recounts this final act in the drama set in motion when Germany invaded Poland in September 1939. He covers not only the Western Allies' side of the story but also the much less familiar and far more brutal Soviet side of the battle for Germany. He offers penetrating assessments of the principal leaders—Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Hitler—and of their foremost generals, but at the same time he draws on interviews and other records of the experience of ordinary soldiers and civilians. The result is an exceptionally rich and balanced work of military history that will be widely read for years to come.

At the heart of *Armageddon* is a summing up that exemplifies Hastings's moral realism. "The Germans and Russians in the Second World War," he writes, "showed themselves better warriors, but worse human beings. This is not a cultural conceit, but a moral truth of the utmost importance to understanding what took place on the battlefield." Throughout the book Hastings is unsparing in his recognition of the profound evil not only of Hitler's Nazi regime but also of the Soviet Union, "where Josef Stalin had created . . . the greatest edifice of repression, mass murder, and human suffering the world has ever seen." This uncompromising judgment does not prevent Hastings from concluding that Stalin "showed himself the most effective warlord in the Second World War," yet he emphasizes that this effectiveness depended on a profligate disregard for human life "unimaginable in the democracies." And he stresses as well the power of terror to enforce discipline at every level of the Soviet system. (On this point and many others, a valuable supplement to *Armageddon* is another book published this season, Stephen G. Fritz's *Endkampf: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich*, from the University Press of Kentucky, which focuses on the last months of the war in a particular region of Germany, Franconia. Fritz shows how German civilians who were weary of bloodshed and ready for peace were terrorized and in some cases executed by Nazi diehards, right to the very end of the war.)

There is no hint of moral equivalence in Hastings's reckoning, even when he is assessing both the military ineffectiveness and the inhumanity of British and American "area bombing" of civilians. But while he has scant patience for revisionism of the kind lately fashionable in Germany, Hastings equally avoids history-as-cheerleading. Indeed, to "dissuade the democracies from celebrating their own humanity too extravagantly," he insists

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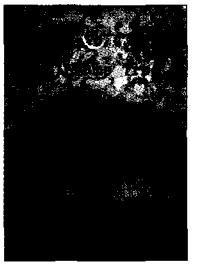
on acknowledging the moral complexity of the conflict: "Western allied scruples made the Americans and British dependent upon the ferocity of their Soviet allies to do the main business of destroying Hitler's armies."

At a time when new translations of *Gilgamesh* and Sophocles' *Antigone* become occasions for speechifying about the war in Iraq, it is hardly surprising that critics of the Bush administration have seized on *Armageddon* for their purposes. In a review for the London *Times*, for example, the historian Hew Strachan had the effrontery to describe Hastings's work as "an anti-war book." This is pure cant. Hastings is on record as a critic of American policy in Iraq, but not because he is "anti-war." Indeed, he has said he fears the mess in Iraq will make it harder to muster support for an intervention that might be more necessary.

In itself *Armageddon* has nothing to offer one way or another about the wisdom of invading Iraq. But it has a great deal to offer on the larger subject of how we think about war. Like Tolstoy, Hastings does full justice to the messiness of war, the inevitable mistakes and misjudgments. He has a keen eye as well for the bitter rivalries between allies, especially between the British and the Americans. (No sensible person, after reading Hastings, will have any patience for handwringing about American "unilateralism" today. What's new?) In short, Hastings's book is a reminder of simple truths, a primer of reasonable expectations, the absence of which is likely to be starkly apparent in any report from Iraq randomly selected from the network news broadcasts. Should we deplore the torture of Iraqi prisoners? Absolutely, just as the killing of German prisoners by American and British soldiers—by no means a rare event, as Hastings makes clear—was to be deplored, without thereby suggesting that those actions were adequate to symbolize the Allied cause or that it would have therefore been better to simply let Hitler have his way. We appear to be desperately in need of the sort of reality therapy that Hastings supplies. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

The Flame Tree,
by Richard Lewis
(Simon & Schuster Children's,
288 pp., $16.95)



THIS poignant novel tells the story of Isaac Williams, a twelve-year-old living in Wonobo, Indonesia, with his missionary-doctor parents. Ugly events intrude on Isaac's idyllic world when Muslim extremists begin to agitate following 9/11. As the violence escalates, Isaac is estranged from his best friend, separated from his parents, and taken hostage.

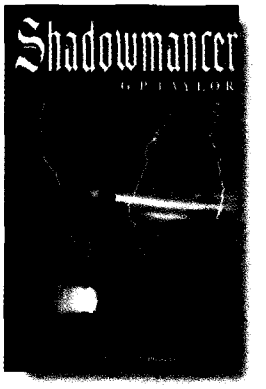
The book simultaneously reveals the ugly side of humanity and illuminates the power of faith and tolerance. Lewis does not paint all Muslims as evil or tragically mistaken: There are cruel and violent Muslims involved in Isaac's captivity, but there are also those with compassion and wisdom. Forced to learn about the Islamic faith, Isaac is able to catch a glimpse of the devotion of the truly faithful. He recognizes that Christians and Muslims alike have extremists while also sharing a devotion to God.

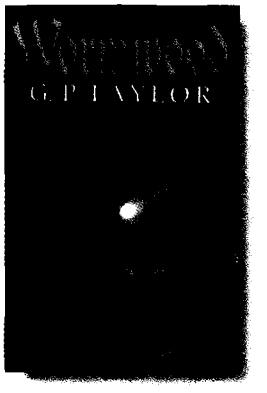
But Lewis doesn't try to paint a simple picture of sentimental tolerance that papers over differences and slopes toward relativism or moral equivalence. Instead, the characters must come to terms with their own faiths; they must decide what they believe and how they are going to act. In this book's vision, tolerance comes not from rejecting absolutes but from valuing human beings as God's creations; and from a humility that realizes that some things are beyond our understanding.

Don't be fooled by its "young adult" label: *The Flame Tree* is a gripping and thought-provoking novel about faith and friendship in an age of conflict.

—KEVIN HOLTSBERRY

The Trouble With Harry





Shadowmancer, by G. P. Taylor
(Putnam, 304 pp., $16.99)
Wormwood, by G. P. Taylor
(Putnam, 272 pp., $17.99)

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

FOR those of us who like to believe, however tentatively, in human progress, the notion that there are 21st-century Americans who think that the brave, benign—and fictional—Harry Potter can be used as a recruitment officer for the occult is profoundly depressing. And yet there are surprisingly many who fear just that. For year after year now, different school districts across the country have faced complaints whenever the hero of Hogwarts rides his Nimbus 2000 broomstick onto the curriculum or into the library.

Mr. Stuttaford is a contributing editor of National Review Online.

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But the Lord, or the market, works in mysterious ways and those so harried by the thought of Harry have recently found, well, a savior in the shape of a former policeman and roadie for the Sex Pistols, the Reverend G. P. Taylor, the vicar of Cloughton, a small town in the north of England. He's the author of two bestselling children's books (both, like Harry Potter, with a surprisingly strong crossover readership among adults), *Shadowmancer* and *Wormwood*, novels of deviltry, danger, and intrigue where the ultimate hero is neither wizard nor witch, but God.

Funnily enough, it was that disreputable Master Potter who prompted the parson to pick up his pen. As Taylor explained in an interview with the Christian Broadcasting Network, he lectures on the occult and the New Age and, during the course of one talk, he was discussing "the dangers of Harry Potter and all that sort of stuff." At the end of the evening, a woman suggested that he write a book. It was a sign! Within nine months, Taylor had completed *Shadowmancer*, and after the now-traditional round of rejections (ask Harry Potter's creator, J. K. Rowling), he published it himself, selling his motorcycle to provide the necessary cash. Word-of-mouth did the rest.

Subsequently, Faber & Faber, a major U.K. publisher, bought the rights to Taylor's epic, and the rest is history. *Shadowmancer* spent 15 weeks at the top of the British book charts, and its successor, *Wormwood*, was also a hit. A *Shadowmancer* movie is planned and multi-book contracts have been signed on both sides of the Atlantic (the reverend's writings have also found a large audience in America).

It's a great story: Taylor's success makes for an inspirational and possibly miraculous tale. Miraculous? Well, how else to explain that books quite so bad have sold quite so well? Linked chapters in a saga that is (Lord, help us) planned to stretch over many more volumes, *Shadowmancer* and *Wormwood* are both set in (to give Taylor his due) a vividly described 18th-century England, a place of squalor, poverty, and oppression, far more *Gin Lane* than *Beer Street*. They are an account of two rounds in the eternal battle between the Creator (here called Riathamus, a Latin form of an ancient British word meaning "king of kings") and You Know Who. The first revolves around the struggle for a sacred relic and—the Reverend Taylor's psychiatrist can make of this what he will—a wicked vicar's lust for world domination; the second deals with the coming of a comet that may be the deeply unpleasant "Wormwood" prophesied in one of the Book of Revelation's gloomier passages.

With such a dramatic background, it's remarkable that Taylor's books fail to enthrall; yet somehow they do. The plotting is all over the place, much of the writing is clunky (Iron Maiden meets the Sermon on the Mount) and the ill-defined, but vast, cast of characters and creatures that flit in and out of the narrative will bewilder many of the books' younger readers—and, trust me, some of the older ones too. Thulak? Seloth? Dunamez? Diakka? Varrigal? Glashan? Life's too short as it is.

But do *Shadowmancer* and *Wormwood* even succeed in fulfilling the spiritual task that Taylor, a devout and obviously sincere man, has set out for them? From these books and numerous interviews that he has given, it's fairly clear that Taylor wanted to show that the fight against evil must be seen as religious (if not, claims Taylor, necessarily Christian, although his work is filled with Christian imagery). He also set out to deliver the clear message that the occult is far from being a harmless parlor game. It's no surprise that it's an angel, not a wizard, who is on hand to help Taylor's heroes in their adventures, and magic, oh dear, that's a no-no.

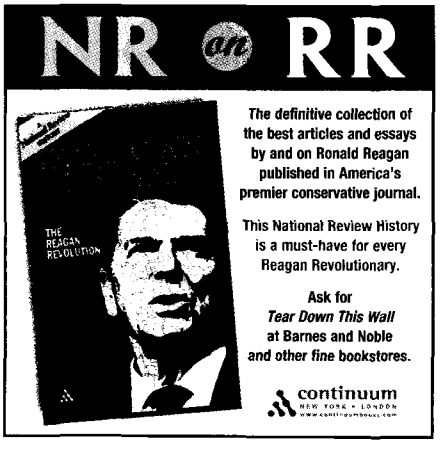
We see this in the middle of one dramatic scene, when Raphah, the young Ethiopian (in a nod to the pieties of multiculturalism, Taylor has boasted that he got "sick of little Harry Potter being a nice little white Anglo-Saxon Protestant") who is one of the heroes of *Shadowmancer*, angrily confronts a woman and her faith in the Tarot: "Do you really believe in the power of those picture cards? There is a far greater law than the one that controls the roll of the dice or the turn of a card . . . each one of you is taken in by what you hear. You're quick to believe in spirits when it's really someone banging on the side of the bed. None of you will turn to the one who can truly set you free."

Fine, but this blunt lecture is a long way from, say, the subtler allegory that is C. S. Lewis's Narnia, stories written by a man whose Christianity was no less muscular than that of the Reverend Taylor. Other than for those who are already cheering from their pews, the way Taylor punctuates his narrative with sermonettes and preachy nuggets is likely to be more annoying than convincing. In this respect, ironically, he is reminiscent of another best-selling British children's writer, the gifted but irritating Philip Pullman, whose initially promising *His Dark Materials* trilogy ultimately dissolved into a dreary atheist rant.

That Taylor dislikes the occult, there's no doubt. Unfortunately, he sees it not as it is, a conjuring-trick creed of cretins and the credulous, but as something that is genuinely powerful—all too real, and all too dangerous. He's on the record as believing in ghosts (one of his houses was, he has said, haunted) and has presided over a few exorcisms in his time; earlier, in his wild, and somewhat regretted, youth, he experimented with tarot cards, séances, and Ouija boards.

These beliefs, when linked with Taylor's violent, lurid, Heavy Metal aesthetic (this vicar puts the Goth in Golgotha), mean that his writing may invest the dark side, even if it always ultimately loses, with rather more seductive force than he may have intended. Here is how the angel Abram describes Hezrin, one of *Wormwood*'s more sinister demons: "She is a collector of angels and any other trinket that takes her fancy. I have known her for an eternity, century to century, Paris and Rome, Constantinople and Babylon. The thing with [her] is that she never changes, always those same deep, beautiful eyes that capture the soul—and hands that will tear out your heart."

Toto, I have a feeling we're not in Narnia anymore. **NR**



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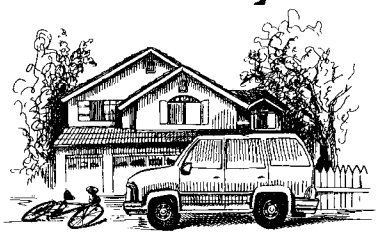
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Yes Un-Deedy



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

THE novelist Ivy Compton-Burnett, asked by the London *Times* to give a brief account of her life, replied: "There's not much to say. I haven't been at all deedy."

Deedy! This is one of those words that, once you have seen them, make you wonder why they aren't in everyday use. The job interviewer, going through a pile of submitted résumés: "This one's all right, but . . . no, not deedy enough." The biographer or obituarist: "The next few years were his deediest . . . " The self-improvement guru: "Deediness depends on a positive attitude!" The psychiatrist's patient: "I married George because he seemed so deedy, but . . ."

In an energetically meritocratic society like ours, deediness is next to godliness. It can, in fact, be offered as evidence of godliness. My modest suburban parish recently engaged a curate, who was duly introduced to us in the parish newsletter. His résumé was stunning. He had degrees in both churchly and un-churchly subjects, and had taught and ministered on two continents. A curacy in the Episcopal Church is worthy, useful, and no doubt satisfying work; but the pay must be dismal, and I could not help reflecting on the disproportion that sometimes rules in this area. Compare, for example, Bill Gates, whose entire résumé, if memory serves, reads something like: "Dropped out of Harvard. Founded Microsoft Corp." In worldly affairs—than which, of course, I believe and hope, nothing could be further from our curate's mind—the race is not always to the credentialed, nor the battle to the deedy.

There was a time long ago when deediness was seen primarily in terms of the eternal. Homer's heroes struggled to accumulate *kleos* in the conviction that this was their one real hope of immortality. Belloc, writing of the early Germanic settlements in England, tells us of "a man, before the Normans came to England, who sailed from the highest Scandinavian mountains, I think, towards these shores, and landing, fought against men and was wounded so that he was certain to die. When they asked him why he had undertaken that adventure, he answered: 'That my name might live between the lips of men.'" (Though Belloc spoils the effect by omitting to mention that actual name.) Most of our efforts nowadays are directed toward more immediate ends. The glittering *curriculum vitae* will boost us through the world, but few of us look to benefit from it hereafter. There are no résumé folders in a shroud.

Americans who do not travel much may be surprised to hear that in large parts of the world, even today, this country is spoken of with admiration as one in which nobody cares *who you are*, only about *what you can do*. The best guide to what you can do is what you have done. The notion that a person might get through life without doing much is slightly shocking to us Americans. It brings to mind the effete aristocrats of the Old World, to escape from whose dominion we fought a bitter war. At about the time of that war, James Boswell, socializing in London, found himself in the company of an aged peer of the realm. Never at a loss for a conversational opening, Boswell asked the old boy whether, looking back on his long life, he could see any pattern or purpose in it. No, replied His Lordship, it had all been "a chaos of nothing." So it must be without some organizing principle, some aspiration to deediness.

Not that the obsession with deediness, as opposed to mere stylishness or rank, is without its darker side. Résumé inflation comes to mind; and even an authentic résumé can be flaunted a little too ostentatiously. I recently, for journalistic purposes, had to look into the background of a person recommended to me as an authority on some topics of interest. He had posted a résumé on the Internet, and it was tremendous: "Graduated *summa cum laude* . . . Founded the innovative company . . . Author of numerous books, notably . . . Advisor to the President's Council on . . ." It was with a thrill of malicious satisfaction (for which I hope I may be forgiven) that I learned later, through personal contacts, that the winner of all those laurels was living in rented rooms while desperately seeking paid employment.

Nor, as the case of Ivy Compton-Burnett shows, is deediness always visible at short range. Humphrey Carpenter writes in his biography of J. R. R. Tolkien that after that writer, at age 34, took up his post as professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, "nothing else really happened." The biographer is practicing irony, of course. *Nothing else really happened* . . . Nothing, that is, except the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, and the guiding of C. S. Lewis toward Christianity. Speaking of which latter, how would this do for a résumé: "After training as a carpenter, embarked on a career of itinerant preaching . . ."?

And then there is the matter of *private* deediness. Asked in old age to identify his greatest achievement, Richard Nixon replied: "My family." Nixon was being much too modest; but it is a cheering fact about life that even those of us bereft of great gifts, good luck, or that restless energy which, I have come to think, is by far the largest factor in worldly success, can leave a glowing memorial to our existence in the lives and personalities of our children.

That is consolatory, though. Anyone who has reflected on life can see the point that those Homeric heroes, that Germanic warrior, and that underemployed overachiever with the dazzling résumé were all getting at. I doubt there is a human being anywhere so deficient in ambition as to have no wish at all to leave any mark on the world. Probably every one of us nurses a lurking fear that he might be numbered among those inconsequential time-servers Matthew Arnold wrote of in his elegy for his father.

> Most men eddy about
> Here and there — eat and drink,
> Chatter and love and hate, . . .
> . . . and then they die—
> Perish; and no one asks
> Who or what they have been . . .

Because they weren't deedy enough, you see? **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

State of the Nation

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 23

It is speculated that the president has already got his staff to hammer out preliminary drafts of the State of the Union address, though it will not be delivered until sometime in January. I remember in 1966 being seated alongside Professor Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in a CBS studio. Our duty was to opine on the State of the Union speech being given by President Johnson. He had defeated Barry Goldwater soundly a year before and had recently decided to challenge the North Vietnamese invasion of the South. Schlesinger and I waited as the president rolled on and on with plum pudding after plum pudding, designed to appease those who disapproved of his venture in Vietnam. In despair, after 70 minutes, Professor Schlesinger reached down for a bottle of whiskey and we drank together our joint concern for Mr. Johnson's endless exploration of the state of the union.

There will be a lot of that kind of thing in President Bush's address. He is correctly concerned for any number of things that don't have anything to do with Iraq, but Iraq will be the subject on which the eyes of the nation will train.

The election in Iraq is scheduled for the last week of January. This we have been holding up as the validating moment for our whole enterprise in Iraq. We have set up 9,000 voting sites, promising that they will grant the voter the security freely to express his mind. If only a small number of Iraqis show up, that will be prima facie evidence that threats of retaliation against prospective voters served their purpose.

The Iraqi voters will be selecting political representatives to serve them in a national legislature. In our own critical election of 1800 we had the Federalists of Hamilton, the Democrats of Jefferson, the Southern slaveholding interests, the free traders, and the protectionists. There was no party pleading the cause of irredentism, a return to colonial status. That war had been fought and decided. The war to jettison Islamic extremism has been fought: but whether it has been won is not a settled question. There are at least 10,000 men who are determined that strife and tyranny shall prevail. So how do we adjust to the possibility that the election will fail to introduce working democratic order?

The result can't be guaranteed, which brings us to obligatory concessions in the presidential message which have to do with the national security.

Some writers and thinkers who are referred to as neocons aren't exactly that, Wilsonian dogmatists. This is the community that has fought superstitions that have been generated so profusely about disarmament. Their analytical axiom is that fewer arms do not bring lessened risks. We have been told by President Putin, no less, that Russia has designs on a brand new family of nuclear weaponry which, he said, would make his country mightier than ever, and perhaps even the mightiest. We have heard such talk before, and it is wise not automatically to dismiss it.

Solidarity is encouraged, by the party of President Bush, in the matter of the war in Iraq. But the point that should not be lost is that the concern for national security is a concern that transcends the war in Iraq. That war can be said to have been, at distinct moments in the past, coextensive with the concern for national security. But policies that once conflated do not necessarily continue fused, any more than marriages which once brought two persons into singularity, always survive as such.

We went to Iraq for the right reasons, a venture in affirming the palpable demands of national security. At this moment we can't say with absolute assurance that the venture will succeed in its stated purpose, but we know that challenges aimed at our national security will continue, and that we will have to meet them in whatever theater they appear, with tactical energy and self-confidence, but with an eye to the strategic reserve. That lesson was nowhere more vividly spelled out than in Vietnam. Our specific aims were not met there, but our grander aim was not sacrificed.

This is the point that Mr. Bush will need to make in his important address.

Nuke Talk

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 7

It isn't to disavow our Iraqi venture to ponder what is to be done if it fails. It would not have been disloyal to the Vietnamese enterprise to have asked, in 1973, what we would do if we failed to arrest the Vietcong. We begin by asking: What critical event, or consolidation of events, would tell us that we had failed in Iraq?

The question needs to be asked with reasonable perspectives in mind. The best way to solve the poverty of Brazil, someone commented a dozen years ago, would be to transport five million Swiss to live and work there. One way to solve the Iraq problem is to evacuate Iraqis and import Germans: such-scale solutions, mutatis mutandis, occurred to Adolf Hitler when he pondered the elimination of world Jewry.

No, the road signs will be different, more modest, even ambiguous. But they are there directly ahead. Most prominently, the Iraqi elections. Thought on that subject can be placed on a democratic blackboard more or less as follows:

—90 percent of eligible Iraqis vote for non-Baathist parties. Score: A.

—50 percent vote for democratically oriented parties pledging the separation of church and state. Score B if the non-voters are acquiescent. Score D if the non-voters resist.

An A vote for democracy would be a great event; but the exercise today is to consider U.S. action in case it does not work out with the elections. One alternative is to think of Iraq as a kind of outpost of U.S. strategic concern, as India was for the British for a hundred years.

That is only a conceptual alternative, because the world is too fast-paced to proceed to such a drumbeat of historical rhythms, and the American temperament does not accommodate resident colonialism. We can fight hard for Cuba or the

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Philippines, but we want then to get out, and that inclination grows firmer as the years go by.

If the election in Iraq fails to bring on organic democratic reorientation, we will need to find words to describe the tergiversation. They'll boil down to: *We tried and we failed.* This is not an argument against trying. We will be trying through the life of the republic to promote peace and liberty.

But the hard target will not be less visible whatever happens in the Iraqi elections. It is of course the problem of what is happening in Iran. There are in this world myriad weapons of mass destruction, but one of them is unique, the nuclear weapon. And that weapon is fondled in the apocalyptic imagination of men who seem to have the liberty to proceed. The actual development of a nuclear bomb is by no means masturbatory arms talk. The things exist; and whereas one might feel an itchy confidence that they will never get out of the hands of reliable people in India, Pakistan, and Israel, it is by no means safe to assume that such weaponry will not one day, the curtains dramatically parted, make known its presence in Iran, as it has all but made its presence known in North Korea.

That is a concern that shoves Iraq to one side, because nuclear weapons close off alternatives, and trade in a million deaths. That challenge has to occupy the American strategic imagination, which must not be hobbled by equivocations traceable to the Iraqi enterprise. It is one thing to endorse ongoing military efforts in Iraq, another to permit, based on what happens there, an impotent fatalism about the nuclear question, a fatalism already visible in our half-dealings with North Korea and Iran.

Illegalizing Illegals

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 14

THE new intelligence law, courtesy of 9/11, is mystifying because it does not face directly what is the most prominent threat to homeland security. It is: inimical action by non-Americans. All the people who participated in 9/11 were foreigners, here under various auspices. And yet the bill that has evolved from the findings of the 9/11 commission reads like an elocutionary exercise by a national committee to avoid saying anything unpleasant about unpleasant people born abroad.

Specifically, the threat at this moment is from foreign terrorism. The day may come when there are native-born Americans who join in such a threat—like the Weather Underground types we experienced during the Sixties. But at this point, the terrorists come from abroad. "Last May," writes *National Interest* editor John O'Sullivan, "illegal aliens from Malaysia, Pakistan, Morocco, Uganda, and India were released without bond. They are now at large in the U.S."

What happened is that as the intelligence bill crystallized, a fear developed that it might be construed as xenophobic. Somewhere along the line the word came down from the White House that for the president to be able to sign the bill, it had to be plucked clean of any suggestion that an illegal Muslim fundamentalist should be treated at all differently from an illegal Christian evangelist. Remember the odd deportment of Norman Mineta, who has been reappointed as Transportation secretary? He went to extraordinary lengths several years ago to insist that security personnel at airports should pay no greater attention to 30-year-old Near Eastern Muslims called Mohammed than they would to Shirley Temple.

The immigration problem is the primary unmet challenge of modern times. It is so because the whole of our political establishment cringes at any suggestion that the U.S. is inhospitable to immigration. We do have laws on the books, but they are apparently made for the sole purpose of flouting them. *Time* published the most florid essay on the question, estimating the annual flow of illegal immigration at over two million persons.

There are two questions on the table. The first deals with raw immigration: How many people beyond those formally welcome under existing laws should we admit into the United States? The second, what are the risks to security in being as offhanded as we have been?

In the age of terrorism, it is obvious that the enemy will seek to do damage operating within U.S. territory. That, of course, was the story of the 9/11 hijackers, 19 Muslim terrorists who took advantage of loose laws to practice flying accurately into U.S. skyscrapers.

But the movements of such folk are not of primary concern to the U.S. Government, to judge from the record. Mr. O'Sullivan reports that the Transportation Department has launched several lawsuits against airlines because pilots had banned passengers they thought were security risks.

Asa Hutchinson, an official in the Department of Homeland Security, recently cut down a Border Patrol initiative to catch illegal aliens. The reason? It was catching too many illegal aliens.

We have the piquant problem of what to do with illegals. It approaches the problem of what to do with drinkers during Prohibition. You couldn't put them all in jail because there weren't enough jails. Illegals remain largely undisturbed, and the main reason for it isn't U.S. sentimentality toward aspirant Americans. It is the market contribution to the dilemma: There are jobs only illegals are willing to perform, e.g. serving as nannies for Bernard Kerik. Much of the menial and agricultural work done in the southwestern states is done by illegals.

The result of the combined forces—the need for cheap labor, and the passion to avoid any appearance of ethnic or religious discrimination—is an open frontier. Yes, a few illegals are deported. These should get a parade, signaling such distinction as attaches to the infrequency of their apprehension. And perhaps a parade when they come through the next time, often through the same gap in the southwestern frontier.

A subsidiary but not uninteresting question is: Where do our deportees gather? What help is available to them to reassemble? Perhaps to return to Arizona in time for high school reunions?

It's a tough one politically, but Congress should bear down on the subject, intimately related to concerns for homeland security.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"Make him a saint?—Elvis wasn't even a Catholic!"

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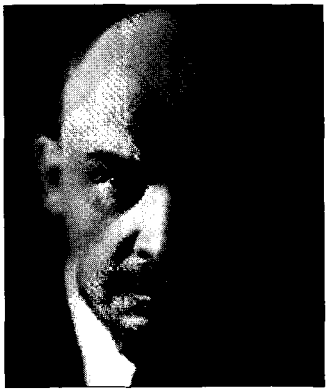
happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Losing a World

A GRAND and rather beautiful lady died in London the other day, a month shy of her 90th birthday. Late in life, she used to do Russian translations and advise on period detail for British stage and film directors, which is how I came to meet her. She was Tania Alexander by then, but she was born Tatiana von Benckendorff and was an Estonian émigrée. "Emigré" is one of those words you can only apply to those from Mitteleuropa and east thereof. When I was in London, as I recall, no one ever referred to me as an émigré Canadian. The term conjures not just someone from another country but someone from a lost world. Indeed, Mrs. Alexander's autobiography, published in London under the matter-of-fact title *An Estonian Childhood*, was re-christened by her American publisher *Tania: Memories Of A Lost World.*



LENIN: BETTMANN/CORBIS BIN LADEN: REUTERS

Tania lost her world early in life. At the age of four, walking on the grounds of her family's Estonian estate, she came across the body of her father, brutally murdered by peasant revolutionaries. And even though she lived a long enough exile in London to see the fall of Communism and the new Estonia become a member of NATO and the European Union, her world never came back. They never do. That's not to say newly liberated Europe hasn't rediscovered the charms of Old World grandeur and style. I see Neven Vrgoc, a couturier in Serbia, has designed the first cravat to be worn on the penis. "I hope male customers will buy them to create a good impression on a first date," he says.

Permanence is the illusion of every age. In 1914, everyone thought the Romanovs and Hapsburgs were forever. Seventy years on, all those fellows who dismissed Reagan as an "amiable dunce" (in Clark Clifford's phrase) assured us the Commies were likewise here to stay. As big-time Ivy League history prof Arthur Schlesinger wrote in 1982, "Those in the United States who think the Soviet Union is on the verge of economic and social collapse" are "wishful thinkers who are only kidding themselves."

It's easy to keep things in perspective when you stumble across your dad's corpse and the Bolsheviks seize your home and, instead of coming-out parties and being married off to some aristocrat in St. Petersburg, you wind up taking a typing course to be a stenographer in a foreign land half a world away. But, if you're not buffeted by revolution and coups and war, it's harder to spot history on the march. For example, 1970 doesn't seem that long ago. If you're, say, 50 or 60, as many of the chaps running the Western world are wont to be, your pants are narrower than they were in 1970 and your hair's less groovy, but the landscape of your life—the look of your house, the layout of your car, the shape of your kitchen appliances, the brand names of the stuff in the fridge—isn't significantly different. Aside from the Internet and the cellphone and the penile cravat, everything seems the same, slightly modified.

But consider this. Of the increase in global population between 1970 and 2000, the developed world accounted for under 9 percent while the Muslim world accounted for 26 percent. In 1970, the developed world had twice as big a share of the global population as the Muslim world: 30 percent to 15 percent. By 2000, they were the same: Each had about 20 percent.

So the world's people are a lot more Islamic than they were back then and a lot less "Western." Europe is significantly more Islamic, having taken in during that period some 20 million Muslims (officially)—or the equivalents of the populations of four European Union countries (Ireland, Belgium, Denmark, and Estonia).

Can these trends continue for another 30 years without having consequences? Back in the Seventies, you used to hear about this thing called the neutron bomb that killed all the people but left the buildings standing. Dunno what happened to it: Judging from the hypersensitive way we wage war these days, perhaps there's no call for it. Instead, a demographic neutron bomb seems to have been dropped on the Continent: The buildings are still standing but the people in them are less and less European. We are living through a remarkable period. What we are seeing is the self-extinction of the races that, for good or ill, shaped the modern world.

What will Europe be like at the end of this process? Who knows? There's something to be said for the notion that America will find an Islamified Europe more straightforward to deal with than M. Chirac, Herr Schroeder & Co. On the other hand, given Europe's track record, getting there could be very bloody. But either way this is the real battlefield. The al-Qaeda nutters can never find enough suicidal pilots to fly enough planes into enough skyscrapers to topple America. But, unlike us, the Islamists think long-term, and given their demographic advantage in Europe and the tone of the emerging Muslim lobbying groups there, much of what they're flying planes into buildings for is likely to come to them if they just wait a few more years.

No one can know for certain what these trends mean. But to deny they mean anything is as deluded as those friends and family of Tania Alexander who attended the grand balls and tea parties in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1914 and thought it would all go on forever. **NR**

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A Bow to Fiscal Conservatism

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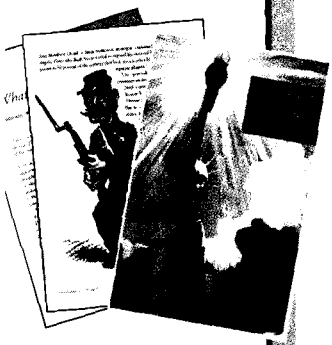

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As the curtain rises on his second term, President Bush doesn't lack for opportunities to secure an enduring legacy. In addition to prosecuting the war on terrorism, the president has indicated that he wants to reform Social Security, simplify the nation's tax code, and institute health savings accounts—all noble yet formidable challenges.

Here's one additional item for that legacy portfolio: a bow to fiscal conservatism by restoring presidential line-item veto authority.

In June 1998, only two years after a Republican Congress and a Democratic president agreed that line-item vetoing was a necessary means to curb Washington's spending appetite, the Supreme Court struck down the president's ability to remove individual projects from congressionally approved legislation. Instead, the president can sign or veto spending and tax bills only in their entirety.

Not surprisingly, Congress has taken full advantage of the situation. According to the budgetary watchdog Citizens Against Government Waste, Congress this past year approved more than 10,600 "pork" items totaling nearly $23 billion—a 13 percent increase over the previous year—at a time when the federal deficit surpassed $422 billion and the national debt topped $7.5 trillion.

With Washington drowning in a sea of red ink, the timing is right to restore line-item authority. The only question is how to proceed.

Here are three options:

1. *Constitutional Amendment.* Separate bills currently before the House and Senate would restore line-item authority by amending the Constitution. Although the approval process is steeper (a two-thirds vote in both chambers of Congress, plus 38 states' approval), it improves the chances of a new law surviving an all-but-certain constitutional challenge by line-item opponents.

2. *Impoundment.* Up to 1974, presidents enjoyed a power known as impoundment: if a president didn't think an appropriation was appropriate, he didn't spend the earmarked money. But amid Watergate and its various intragovernmental power struggles, Congress restricted impoundment. Three decades later, Congress should right that wrong and give the president the ability not to spend money allocated by Congress if that spending is deemed unnecessary.

3. *Enhanced Rescission.* The president does have one option: he can rescind "pork" items and send an entire spending bill back to Congress for reconsideration. However, Congress holds the trump card: if it doesn't act, the president's rescission is automatically rejected. A simple remedy for this would be "enhanced rescission" authority whereby Congress would be forced to vote on the president's request within forty-five to sixty days, thus forcing members to go on the record as for or against fiscal excess.

Will these reforms dramatically reverse the rising deficit tide? Probably not. In the eighteen months that he enjoyed line-item veto authority, President Clinton targeted only eighty-two programs, thirty-eight of which were restored by Congress for an overall savings of a mere $2 billion—a drop in the federal bucket.

Nevertheless, it would send a positive message to a cynical public: if Washington can't halt runaway spending, at least it is willing to hand over the reins to the president and let him try to slow down the horses.

—Bill Whalen

Bill Whalen is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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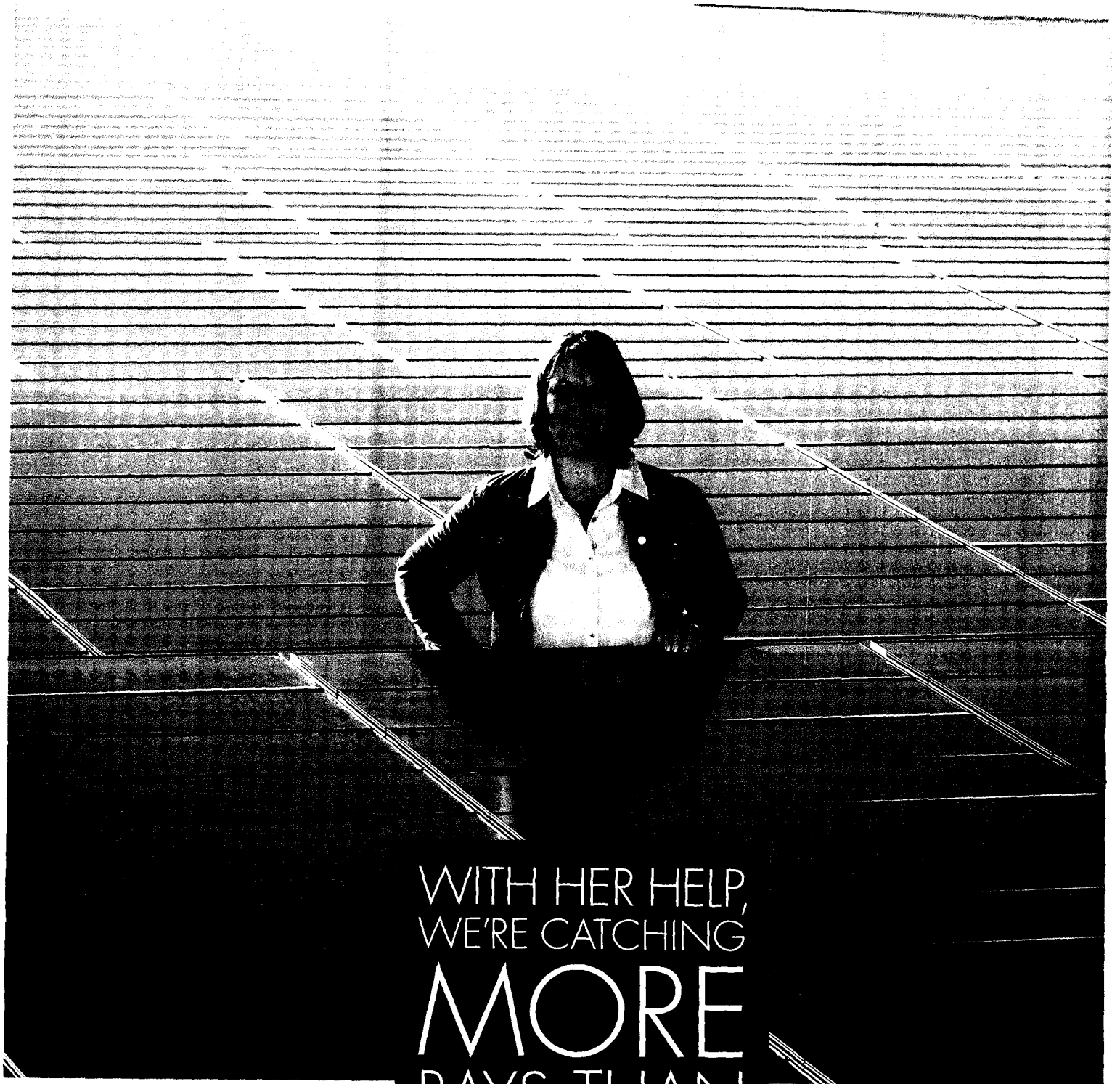

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